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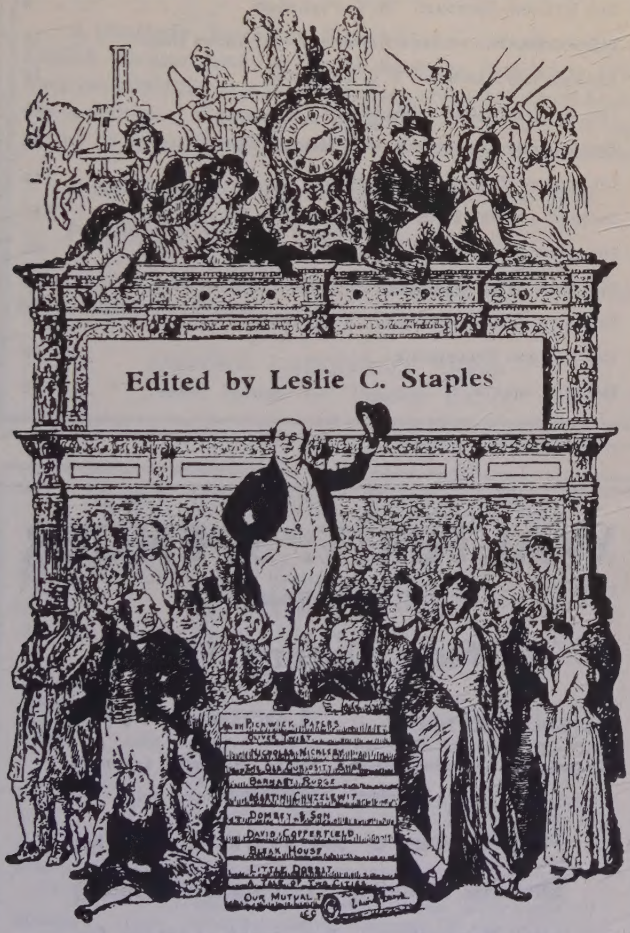

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WALTER T. SPENCER

(M. E. SPENCER)

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The Dickens Fellowship

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October

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November

Wednesday, 11th. 7 p.m. Lecture: "Charles Dickens, the World's Worst Writer," by Mr. E. H. Jeffs.

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All meetings at Swedenborg Hall, Bloomsbury Way, at 7 p.m., unless otherwise stated.

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Founded 6th October, 1902.

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The dates following the Number of each Branch indicates the date on which it was founded.

Full particulars of the Fellowship and Forms of Membership can be obtained from any of the Secretaries.

THE DICKENSIAN

AUTUMN NUMBER

VOL. LV. SEPTEMBER 1959 No. 329

WHEN FOUND—

The President The noteworthy Presidency of the Dean of St. Paul's has reached its appointed end and our gratitude to Dr. Matthews cannot be sufficiently emphasised. His leadership has been highly successful, and his efforts on our behalf unceasing and untiring. We shall be seeing him again at the opening meeting of the new season, on October 6th, the Fellowship's 57th birthday, when he will introduce our new President, Miss Margaret Lane (Countess of Huntingdon) who makes her inaugural address in the restored Hall of Staple Inn which has been generously lent for the purpose by the Institute of Actuaries.

* * * * *

Our "Friends" As will be seen in the report of Conference on another page, The Friends of *The Dickensian*, continue to preserve it from insolvency, and once again we would like to tender them our grateful thanks. Their response has been such that each has been asked to contribute a half of the sum they originally promised annually, and it is hoped that Branches which have constituted themselves Corporate Friends, will do the like. Should production costs rise again, it might be necessary to ask them to revert to their original promises.

* * * * *

American Conference It had been a cherished hope that the Annual Conference of 1942 would be held in America in celebration of Dickens's first trans-atlantic visit in 1842. Plans were well advanced when war put a stop to them. Now the vigorous Boston Branch has revived the plan and arrangements are going ahead for Annual Conference to be held in Boston, Dickens's best loved American city, in 1962, in celebration of the 150th Anniversary of Dickens's birth, the Diamond Jubilee of the Dickens Fellowship, and the 120th Anniversary of Dickens's first American visit. The Conference will be an historic and noteworthy one. Already a large number of English members have stated their definite intention of attending, and it is hoped that members of other American and Canadian branches will do the same. With three years in which to make preparation, there is no doubt that a great success will be achieved.

* * * * *

Portsmouth The City of Portsmouth, birthplace of Charles Dickens, is also preparing to celebrate the 150th Anniversary of the birth of its illustrious son, in 1962, and plans are afoot for the Dickens Fellowship to hold a week-end celebration there in October of that year. Members unable to travel to

Boston will therefore be enabled to celebrate the Fellowship Diamond Jubilee, as well as the birth of Dickens, at that time. The Birthplace Branch of the Fellowship is already making preliminary arrangements. Probably the October Council Meeting of the Fellowship will be held in the city during the week-end, instead of in London.

* * * * *

Munificent Gift The Dickens House has just received one of the most noteworthy gifts that have ever been made to it. The generous donor is Dr. S. A. Henry, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., who has presented his wonderful collection of first editions of Dickens, the accumulation of which is the result of the loving labour of a lifetime. Most of the novels are represented in sets of the monthly parts in pristine condition, not only of the first issues but with the numerous variants. There are also other notable first editions in the original cloth. A full report must await a thorough examination. This gift fills a great lack in the collections at Doughty Street and we cannot easily, or adequately, express our thanks to Dr. Henry for his magnanimity. We do so now but tentatively, and will return to the subject when a catalogue has been made. It is to be hoped that other collectors will follow Dr. Henry's example and complete our collection by gifts of sets in monthly parts of *Pickwick Papers*, *Sketches by Boz*, and *Oliver Twist*.

* * * * *

A Bequest The Dickens House also benefits by the will of Miss Hope Wickes of Chestertown, Maryland, U.S.A., who was a member of Headquarters for twenty-eight years. Her bequest to us amounts to two thousand dollars. Such generosity from a member living so far away from us is indeed encouraging.

* * * * *

From Soho Another exceedingly interesting gift has been made to the Dickens House by Mr. Cecil Whiley. It is the original sign of the gold-beater's arm to which Dickens referred in *A Tale of Two Cities*, with such telling effect. Our cordial thanks are extended to Mr. Whiley for this most picturesque addition to the collections at Doughty Street.

* * * * *

Broadstairs Festival The Annual Dickens Festival in Broadstairs goes from strength to strength. The change from October to June has been most highly beneficial, and the fame of the Festival has spread to the ends of the earth. This year Gladys Waterer's adaptation of *Nicholas Nickleby* was revived in a rousing production which ran for five nights. Many other events filled in the week, including the now famous Dickens Tea Party in the gardens of Bleak House. This favourite seaside home of the novelist has now passed into the possession of Mr. Charles Ede, the well-known newspaper editor, and the house is now open to the public on most days of the summer. Mr. Ede has already assembled an interesting collection of Dickensiana

which will doubtless assume important proportions in due course. His public spirited action in admitting the public to enjoy it is deserving of our best thanks. Members would do well to bear this annual celebration in mind when planning a summer holiday. Broadstairs has much to offer, and has preserved its Dickensian atmosphere to a truly remarkable degree, heightened during the Festival by the scores of Dickensian costumes worn in the streets.

* * * * *

Southwark Service For the second year in succession the Annual Dickens Commemoration Service was held at St. George's Church (Little Dorrit's Church) in Southwark. It took place on May 10th and was conducted by the Rector, the Rev. C. E. V. Bowkett. The sermon was preached by our President, the Dean of St. Paul's.

* * * * *

Chalk As already reported in *The Dickensian*, both the Nash cottage at Chalk, and the original of Gargery's forge, were purchased by Mr. H. S. Prentice. Following a dilapidation order by the Gravesend Council, the honeymoon cottage had to be demolished, as it was found impossible to preserve it. Now the forge, a victim of youthful vandalism, is also in danger unless roofing repairs to satisfy the Council can be carried out. It is hoped that the cost, which Mr. Prentice cannot himself provide, will be forthcoming. It will be about one hundred and fifty or two hundred pounds, which sum Mr. Prentice is willing that the Fellowship should administer. Branches are invited to give their support to this appeal, perhaps by organising functions in its aid. It will be remembered that recently the Fellowship provided a plaque which has been erected on the building indicating its connection with Dickens's novel. Will Branches willing to help please communicate with the Secretary at Dickens House. He himself intends to give a recital of *Great Expectations* in aid of the fund.

* * * * *

Bransby Williams Plans are being prepared for a testimonial presentation to Bransby Williams, who has just celebrated his 89th birthday, to mark his seventy years of notable service to the theatre. His services to Dickens need no commendation in this place. A distinguished committee has been set up under the chairmanship of Lord Birkett. Branches which would like to be associated with the presentation are asked to write to Mr. Greaves at Dickens House.

* * * * *

At the Abbey The annual custom of laying a wreath on the grave of Charles Dickens in Westminster Abbey again took place on the eve of the anniversary of his death, by kind permission of the Dean. A large number of London and visiting members were present, and the wreath was laid by Mrs. D. H. White, Hon. Secretary of the Victoria, B.C., Branch. The little ceremony was opened by Mr. Greaves and closed by the Rev. H. J. White.

LESLIE C. STAPLES

THE DICKENS DIARIES

By William J. Carlton

DICKENS was no diarist in the ordinary sense of the word, as applied to such gossipy chroniclers of their times as Samuel Pepys, Fanny Burney or Crabb Robinson. Any self-revelations which he may have felt constrained to commit to paper are to be sought, for the most part, in his letters, his sketches and miscellaneous papers, and in some of his novels. But a few weeks before his 26th birthday he had begun to record his observations and reflections in diary form, and there is reason to believe that the habit of jotting down memoranda in a notebook more or less regularly was never entirely abandoned throughout his career, at any rate until within a year or two of his death. Although most of these notebooks were probably consigned to the flames by their writer when, on 3rd September, 1860, he made up his mind to burn "the accumulated letters and papers of twenty years," by a strange irony of fate what were in all likelihood the earliest and the latest of the diaries have survived to this day.

In the summer of 1844 the novelist left with his family for Italy and No. 1 Devonshire Terrace was let for a year, arrangements for the lease and subsequent redecoration of the house being left in the hands of Thomas Mitton, his friend, solicitor and business manager. A number of boxes containing confidential family papers were handed to Mitton for safe keeping during his absence. In one of them were four volumes of *The Law and Commercial Remembrancer* covering the period 1838 to 1841, in which Dickens had kept a fragmentary diary and made occasional notes in the nature of memoranda. For some unexplained reason this box was not returned until it came into the possession of Georgina Hogarth in 1879, a few months after Mitton's death, its contents thus escaping the fate of many letters and documents now irretrievably lost to posterity. The diaries were purchased for £50 by Forster's widow, who added them to her husband's original bequest of Dickens's relics in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Before parting with them Georgina and her sister-in-law copied such entries as they deemed of sufficient interest and printed them in their edition of *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, 1880. They were printed again in the first volume of the Nonesuch edition of Dickens's letters—this time, according to a note on page 145, "in full"—but a comparison with the original diaries shows that several entries were omitted from both printed versions while others were inaccurately transcribed.

What were the motives that prompted Dickens to start a diary? We know that he was familar with the most famous of all diaries, for a copy of Lord Braybrooke's five-volume edition of Pepys's engaging confidences, dated 1828, was in the Gadshill library at the time of his death and recently found its way into the Baker Library at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. This copy was extensively annotated by the novelist, who indicated on the fly-leaves such topics as had particularly interested or amused him "for quotation, if need be." Passages from Pepys were introduced into more than one of his public speeches. Addressing a meeting

on administrative reform on 27th June, 1855, at Drury Lane Theatre, he confessed that Pepys's diary, which he had been reading the day before, was " rather a favourite of mine," and in another speech on 14th February, 1866, he quoted from " the most honest diary known to print," which he had again been dipping into.

But Dickens had begun to keep a diary himself long before this, and a possible clue to his motive may be found in it. It appears from an entry dated 14th January, 1838, that he had been looking into the journal of Sir Walter Scott. This document, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, is an intimate record of the writer's literary work and life at Abbotsford and Edinburgh from November, 1825, to April, 1832, and ranks high among British diaries. " In Scott's diary", wrote Dickens, " which I have been looking at this morning, are thoughts which have been mine by day and by night, in good spirits and bad, since Mary died." The tragic death of his young sister-in-law, Mary Scott Hogarth, on 7th May, 1837, was a shock from which he was slow to recover, and the impelling need to give expression to his grief may have contributed to his resolve to put his feelings on record.

The diary opens on Monday, 1st January, 1838, with the sentence: " A sad New Year's Day in one respect, for at the opening of last year, poor Mary was with us." On Sunday, 14th January, the diarist notes that he went to church in the morning (he was then living at 48 Doughty Street), and adds: " When I came home I wrote the preceding portion of this diary, which henceforth I make a steadfast resolution not to neglect, or *paint.* I have not done it yet, nor will I; but say what rises to my lips—my mental lips at least—without reserve. No other eyes will see it, while mine are open in life, and although I daresay I shall be ashamed of a good deal in it, I should like to look it over at the year's end."

Alas for Dickens's steadfast resolution ! On the very next day he wrote: " Here ends this brief attempt at a diary. I grow sad over this checking off of days, and can't do it." But the urge to keep some record of his activities was not so easily overcome, and on the following 2nd February the entries recommence. Not only is there no attempt at painting, but they become severely matter-of-fact. Dickens was staying at the King's Head, Barnard Castle, with H. K. Browne, and in search of material for *Nicholas Nickleby* had visited the school kept by William Shaw at Bowes, a village twenty miles distant. " Mem. Shaw the schoolmaster we saw today is the man in whose school several boys went blind some time since, from gross neglect," he wrote. " The case was tried and the verdict went against him. It must have been between 1823 and 1826. Look this out in the newspapers." Dickens's recollection was not at fault. The case, Jones *v.* Shaw, had been heard in the Court of Common Pleas on 30th October, 1823, and that of Ocherby *v.* Shaw on the next day.

More than a month elapsed before the next entry was made on 10th March, and thereafter they became more laconic and less frequent until, in the last few days of October and the first few of November, the " diary " degenerated into a mere account of

expenses incurred at Hatfield, Leamington, Kenilworth, Warwick, Stratford-on-Avon, Birmingham, Shrewsbury, Llangollen, Bangor, Capel Curig, Conway, Chester, Birkenhead, Manchester and Cheadle, occasionally with the briefest of comments. The diary proper was resumed on 10th December, 1838, and continued at intervals until 23rd December, 1841; but there are many gaps which suggest that the writer found it irksome to set down his activities and impressions from day to day with anything like regularity. A few leaves, covering the period from 23rd to 27th January, 1839, have been removed from the book (by Georgina Hogarth ?) at some time which cannot now be determined.

Here are some of the entries omitted from the printed diaries:

1838 March 19. "Mr. Hicks." (This is doubtless a reference to Charles Hicks, the foreman printer to Bradbury & Evans, who not only saw the first edition of *Pickwick* through the press but supervised the printing of at least two other books of Dickens. In March, 1838, Dickens recommended him for the vacant post of Beadle to the Company of Stationers, and the diary note was perhaps a reminder to write to that body on Hicks's behalf.)

May 12. "Artists' Benevolent Fund."

May 13. "Roney to dine at 6." (James E. Roney, a colleague of Dickens on the *Morning Chronicle* who lodged with him at Buckingham Street, has strong claims to be considered as the prototype of Tommy Traddles. He may well have dined with his friend before leaving for British Guiana in 1838.)[1]

July 16. "Limbird." (Probably the publisher John Limbird, with whom Dickens had some correspondence in 1838.)

1839 August 14. "Macfarlane—Note at 4 months dated this day, due 17th: Decr. payable at Coutts's—amount, £56.10.6."

1840 February 28. "Mr. Prevost, 25 New Street, Dorset Square." (Perhaps Louis Augustin Prévost, Dickens's French tutor, who held an important post in the British Museum and died in Great Russell Street in 1858.)

June 6. "Promissory note to Macfarlane at 4 months, due 9th October, £57.7.3."

Dickens's peculiar handwriting was doubtless responsible for the misreading of "Garrick's Head" (12th December, 1838) as "Turk's Head," and "Mitton to pay you" (15th June, 1841) as "Mother to pay you."

Evidence is not wanting that the novelist kept a record of some of his experiences during his first visit to America. In a long letter to Forster from Washington, 13th March, 1842, he declared: "If I were to write you a letter of twenty sheets, I could not tell you this one day's work; so I will reserve it until that happy time when we shall sit round the table at Jack Straw's —you, and I, and Mac—and go over my diary. I never shall be able to dismiss from my mind the impressions of that day.

[1] *Cf. The Dickensian*, 1953, pp. 7-16.

Making notes of them, as I have done, is an absurdity, for they are written beyond all power of erasure in my brain."[1] A few weeks later, after travelling more than 100 miles by railroad and 250 miles by canal, he wrote to Thomas Mitton from Cincinnati (4th April, 1842): "Forster has the best journal I have had time to keep in these conveyances, of our adventures. He will be glad to shew, or read it to you. I think you will be amused by it."[2]

Writing to Madame De la Rue from Devonshire Terrace on 17th April, 1846, he told her that his diary was lying open before him on his desk and quoted from it an entry dated 19th March, 1845: "Mme D.L.R. very ill in the night. Up till four."[3] And in a letter from Lausanne to Mitton dated 30th August, 1846, referring to the purchase of a piano from Cramer's, he wrote: "The note I have in my diary of the amount is £75."[4]

From Broadstairs, 8th September, 1847, Dickens wrote to his old and trusted colleague Thomas Beard, asking him to go to his study in Devonshire Terrace, "twist round the revolving table in the middle of the room, open all the drawers—there is alternately a real drawer and a sham, and the key is in one of them—until you find a half bound Diary for 1847, which bring unto me. I left it there t'other day." On the back of this missive was a note to the maid in charge of the house instructing her to "let the gentleman into the house as if he were myself."[5] This seems to prove that Dickens was still keeping a diary of some sort ten years after his first attempt.

Again, in writing to W. H. Wills from Paris on 4th November, 1862, about his plans for *All the Year Round*, Dickens reminded his sub-editor that, "according to my Diary, Monday the 17th is the day for making up the Xmas No."[6]

Little more than two years before the close of his crowded life Dickens was still jotting down his *faits et gestes* from day to day. The Berg collection of Dickensiana preserved in the New York Public Library includes the original MS. of a diary begun on 1st January, 1867, and continued until the end of that year. This little volume is listed in William Matthews's valuable bibliography of British diaries (1950), which, strangely enough, makes no mention of the earlier diaries in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is a small pocket diary and contains very brief notes of the writer's engagements, his readings in England and America, and other memoranda of biographical interest. A few of the notes are in shorthand. One of these, on the first page, reads: "Xmas 1855. Of all men I know that whatever little motes my beamy eyes may have descried in theirs they belong to a kind, generous, large-hearted and great people." This is almost an exact quotation from a passage in "The Holly Tree—First Branch—Myself," printed in the Christmas Number of *Household Words*, 1855, and explains the date before the shorthand entry. At the farewell dinner given to him at the Freemasons' Tavern, London, on Saturday, 2nd November, 1867, Dickens is reported to have said:

1 *Letters* (Nonesuch ed.), Vol. I, p. 399.
2 *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 429.
3 *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 745.
4 *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 783.
5 *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 53-4.
6 *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 316.

" Twelve years ago, when Heaven knows I little thought I should ever be bound upon the voyage which now lies before me, I wrote in that form of my writings which obtains by far the most extensive circulation, these words of the American nation: 'I know full well, whatever little motes my beamy eyes may have descried in theirs, that they are a kind, large-hearted, generous, and great people.' In that faith I am going to see them again . . . "

It was in this 1867 notebook that Professor Ada Nisbett found, " hidden away in some blank pages at the back," what appears to be a code arranged between Dickens and W. H. Wills for telegraphic messages concerning Ellen Ternan.[1]

* * * * *

In *The Dickensian* of 1940-42 an ill-advised attempt was made " to re-create a Diary of Dickens as he might have kept it," on the lines of the authentic diaries at South Kensington, extending them back to 1st January, 1836, and forward to 31st December, 1842. All the entries are said to be " based on actual fact, authenticated by Dickens's own letters, Forster's *Life of Dickens*, Macready's Diaries and other contemporary sources."[2] Even if this claim could be substantiated and the interpolated entries were approximately accurate, it may be doubted whether Dickens himself would have approved of this gratuitous attempt to foist on him a diary he never wrote. To make matters worse, however, some of them are wrongly dated, while others are traps for the unwary due to the misreading of the novelist's letters and other documents. A few examples will suffice to show the unreliability of the pseudo diary.

Under date Wednesday, August 9th, 1837, the so-called " diary " reads: " Letitia and Burnett, Cruikshank and wife, Harley, to dinner 5."[3] This is evidently based on a letter from Dickens to John Pritt Harley, undated (as were most of his early letters) save for the heading " Saturday Morning." " My dear Harley", he wrote, " George Cruikshank and his wife, and Burnett and his'n, dine with us on Wednesday. Will you please me by joining us ? I don't know what they put up at the Theatre for that night, but as we shall dine at 5 o'clock sharp, you will be in time for the afterpiece if we should be so unfortunate as to be obliged to let you go."[4] There is no mention here of Letitia, and the conclusion is inescapable that the compiler of the " diary " had momentarily confused Burnett's wife (*née* Fanny Dickens) with her sister Letitia who was Mrs. Henry Austin. As Burnett's marriage did not take place until 13th September, 1837, the date assigned to this entry is in any case several weeks too early.

Another entry dated June 26th, 1838, reads: " Done Mr. Bolton."[5] A footnote explains that this is a reference to " Mr. Robert Bolton, the Gentleman connected with the Press," published anonymously in *Bentley's Miscellany*, August, 1838. Although often attributed to Dickens there is some reason to believe that this unsigned piece was from the pen of John Leigh

[1] *Dickens and Ellen Ternan*, 1952, p. 54.
[2] *The Dickensian*, September, 1940, p. 221.
[3] *Ibid*, September, 1941, p. 218.
[4] *Letters* (Nonesuch ed.), Vol. I, pp. 123-4.
[5] *The Dickensian*, December, 1940, p. 26.

Hunt,[1] and this attempt to saddle the novelist with a claim he never made is, to say the least, unwarranted and unhelpful.

On Saturday, August 17th, 1839, Dickens is made to write in the spurious diary: "To Elstree. My present to my godson, a handsome silver cup. Rowed on the lake with Macready, Maclise and Forster. Dr. Quin joined us at dinner."[2] This refers, of course, to Dickens's journey to Elstree to be present at the christening of his godson, Henry Frederick Bulwer Macready (1838-1857), which had taken place ten days earlier, on Wednesday, August 7th, 1839, and is duly noted in Macready's diary under that date.

The genuine entries in *The Dickensian* version are, it is true, indicated in each case by an asterisk; but in the interests of historical accuracy it is to be hoped that a reliable and unexpurgated text of all that Dickens wrote in the extant diaries, as distinct from what he might or might not have written, will soon be made available.

[My thanks are due to the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum for allowing me to examine the original diaries of 1838-41, and to those of the New York Public Library for permission to quote from the 1867 diary in the Berg collection.]

[1] *The Dickensian*, September, 1958, pp. 178-181.
[2] *Ibid*, September, 1940, p. 228.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS REALISED

IT seems very fortunate that when the B.B.C. decided on an adaptation of *Great Expectations* for the older children, they should have allowed the adaptor, Miss P. D. Cummins to cover it in thirteen parts, that being nearer than usual to the number of monthly parts, in which Dickens completed his longer stories. *Great Expectations* being a shorter story than most of Dickens's works, less cutting had to be done. The television serial, too, was taken in a more leisurely manner and we lost a minimum of the wonderful material Dickens packed into it.

The producer, Mrs. Dorothea Brooking (always reliable for careful work), dealing with obvious appreciation of the excellent adaptation, and most sympathetically with the genius of the author of the original; the cast, who shall be nameless, because every one of them earned commendation for their thoughtful interpretation of the parts, and it would be invidious to name one without naming all; the conscientious designers of both sets and costumes, and the whole team concerned, deserve the highest praise for what seemed to me to be the most satisfactory adaptation of Dickens we have had in any theatrical or film medium.

The best news I can give you is that it is contemplated by the B.B.C., re-televising the serial for adults, at a time more suitable for viewing, and that it may get a showing in other countries. It well merits it, paying a laudable tribute as it did, to its creator, and I can confidently advise you to "look in" yourself, if you missed its first showing. Maybe, you will disagree with small trifles, but on the whole, I feel sure you will feel well repaid for the time spent—six and a half hours of sheer Dickensian delight.

J.G.

A glimpse of Amsterdam by L. W. R. Wenekebach

by courtesy of the Ryks Museum

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP
A MEMORABLE GATHERING

ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN HOLLAND

THE eagerly-awaited 53rd Annual Conference of the Dickens Fellowship, held in Amsterdam at the invitation of the barely three-year-old Haarlem Branch, was an unqualified success, and a great landmark in the history of the Fellowship, for never before had Conference been held outside England. No less than 210 members, including some from U.S.A., Canada, and New Zealand travelled to Holland, figures which, when combined with those of the Haarlem and Zwolle Branches, constitute a record for the years since the war. Officers and members of the Haarlem Branch spared no pains to provide a splendid programme and ensure that it worked throughout without a hitch. Such a gathering of happy visitors and hosts cannot but be highly beneficial not only to the Fellowship, but to the cause of international friendship.

The main party arrived at Amsterdam Station on the evening of Friday, May 15th, to find themselves greeted by a large brass band whose spirited playing accompanied the official welcome on the platform. Then, led by a stage-coach, the company formed a procession through the city to their hotels. Later in the evening there was an informal gathering at the Krasnapolsky Hotel.

THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The business meeting followed next morning at the Krasnapolsky Hotel when the roll call revealed that no less than 23 branches were represented. Apart from Headquarters with 72, and Haarlem with 39, the largest group came from Nottingham, 26.

The Chairman of Council, Mrs. Mary Bonfield (Liverpool), opened the meeting with an address, the first part of which she spoke in Dutch, thanking our hosts for the warmth of our reception in their historic and beautiful city. Mrs. Bonfield went on to outline the many links between the two nations throughout the centuries, beginning with Erasmus and William III right down

Conference off to a Dickensian start in Amsterdam

National Foto Persbureau

to the Concertgebouw Orchestra, so highly esteemed in England to-day. Now we represent yet another link, a love for Dickens, backed by similar values, such as freedom, the home, monarchy, and associations, historic, cultural and commercial, which go back for centuries.

The Report of Council was then read by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. John Greaves:

REPORT OF COUNCIL, 1958-59

The Dickensian slogan for the Fellowship's 53rd Annual Conference, with its two hundred delegates from across the North Sea, the Atlantic, and from "down under," with its musical reception and its innumerable surprises, should surely be "What larks!"

This report, made for the first time to a Conference out of England must quite appropriately be on the affairs of the Fellowship overseas.

The Overseas Branches of the Fellowship outnumber the Home Branches by 36 to 24, and have again added to their strength, by the addition of two more branches—a second in Holland, at Zwolle, and now, our first South African Branch, in many years, in Johannesburg. To both these branches, delegates gathered together in Conference would like to send a warm welcome, on becoming part of our world-wide Fellowship and to wish them every success in the coming years. With the exciting possibility of a Conference in the United States, at Boston, dare we look forward, then, to future hopes on yet another great continent, unless Australia or New Zealand jump in first and persuade us to follow in the steps of Wilkins Micawber.

As your Hon. Secretary, I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my personal pleasure at being able to enjoy the honour, following in the footsteps of our Hon. Editor, of being the Fellowship's Dickensian ambassador in the United States and Canada, and to say how pleased I was, during the year under review to be able to meet members in many branches in those two great countries. As in England, some branches are large, some are small, some are strong and flourishing, others are not in such happy circumstances. But, everywhere, the warmth of their welcome was a proof that the spirit of Dickens lives throughout the Fellowship.

The stimulating thought, however, is that not only within our Fellowship but outside, among young people, in universities, colleges and schools throughout America, there are potential Dickens lovers, who are eager to enjoy the works of this great English novelist; to acknowledge their appreciation of his genius, and to pay tribute to our great past. They realise the importance of that past, in their endeavours to carve out an equally impressive future—a lesson we could learn with profit in England. It is perhaps not an entirely vain hope that in these young people, the love of Dickens may survive, in later years, and the aims and objects of the Fellowship be continued in future generations.

The constant cry of the Fellowship is, and always has been—"We cannot get young members!" But the material is there, and it is up to us to ensure that the Fellowship is attractive to Dickens lovers when they are ready to join our ranks. As Betsy Trotwood so aptly remarks in *David Copperfield*—"It's in vain to recall the past, unless it works some influence upon the present."

With the press in England inclined to regard Dickens as a "back number," and to regard the general public as being no longer particularly interested in the subject, and with those in authority presumably bent on destroying as many links with his era as possible, it is an exhilarating thought, that in spite of all this, he continues to be a common bond of friendship—not only among our own people, but between countries, separated by long distances and even by language.

The language of Dickens is universal—the witticisms and philosophy of Sam Weller and Dick Swiveller; the appeal of the

Marchioness; the satire of Mrs. Leo Hunter and Eatanswill, and the descriptive gems in the stories, are still appreciated the world over. Dickens remains one of England's greatest exports. As Mr. Squeers so aptly remarked—" Here's richness ! " Sam Weller's hope—" I hope our acquaintance, may be a long 'un, as the gen'l'm'n said to the fi' pun note," can be applied with equal truth to the ten dollar bill or the fifty guelder note.

One branch, to Council's regret, has ceased to operate this year—the East Bay Branch, Berkeley, California, which has been in existence for thirty-four years. In spite of that, the total number of branches has increased from sixty to sixty-one—a healthy sign, but it is as well to remember that there are still too many branches leaning upon the continued efforts of older members, who have already given more than their share of their labour of love for the Fellowship. Every branch should give serious thought to this question, to see if it applies to them, and to ensure that the branch does not rely solely upon the efforts of one or two enthusiasts, willing horses maybe, upon whose shoulders the very existence of the branch depends. The disappearance of such officers can mean the disappearance of the branch.

In spite of the alleged lack of interest in Dickens, he continues to crop up in various ways, and never a day passes that he is not used in some way or another in the press and in the world of literature.

Books on Dickens still continue to be written and—what is encouraging—find publishers. During the year, the Oxford University Press completed its publication of the works of Dickens, with quite excellent reproductions of the original illustrations. Attention is called to the volume of *The Uncommercial Traveller and Reprinted Pieces*, to which our Hon. Editor has contributed, as would be expected, an excellent introduction. Surely every member of the Fellowship should possess a copy.

Dickens films and plays continue to appear and both television and radio turn to him from time to time for inspiration. The results are not always inspiring, but it is a comfort to know that Dickens is not overlooked in the world of entertainment. *The Old Curiosity Shop* on radio, *Our Mutual Friend* on television have been produced by the B.B.C., a television serial of *Great Expectations* is running now for the children, and now, in the new year, a repeat of *A Tale of Two Cities*. Independent Television is turning its attention, in a large way, to a long series of thirty-minute excerpts from various books, with well known stars taking part. With all respect to these great personalities, it might have been happier to cast humbler artists in these Dickensian rôles, as is particularly evident in the current *Great Expectations* serial.

As the Independent Television people have sought the guidance of our Hon. Editor for this series, it is to be hoped that they will not depart too far from the books, and will appreciate that Dickens is the most important name to be emphasised. His influence, however, has been limited, and in fairness to Mr. Staples it should be pointed out that no blame can attach to him for any incongruities that may occur.

During October, our Hon. Editor also appeared on an Amsterdam television programme with Mr. Bomans, when, as may be expected, the emphasis was on Dickens. Our Hon. Secretary also appeared a number of times on American Television and Radio, in both local and nationwide programmes and on his return to England recorded a broadcast, on Dickens's London, for Canada. Two thirty-minute films of his lecture recitals were made during his American visit, for educational purposes, which will be distributed, not only throughout America, but it is hoped through the English-speaking countries of the world. No opportunities of spreading interest in Dickens have been neglected by our officers.

Attention has been called, by one of our Overseas members, to the fact that our Annual Conference seldom contributes any serious study on Dickens. Council commends this thought to branches, arranging future Conferences. One meeting at least could be devoted, on this important occasion, to something of a more scholarly nature, as indeed Conferences held by other bodies invariably do. Opportunity could, and should be taken to add something useful to Dickensian scholarship. The social side is of course important, but the studious should not be neglected. As Sam Weller so aptly remarked—" Business first, pleasure arterwards, as King Richard the Third said wen he stabbed the t'other king in the Tower, afore he smothered the babbies ! "

In the past, it has been the custom for branches to correspond with each other occasionally, and they are of course encouraged to send their programmes in to Headquarters for inclusion in *The Dickensian*. Twenty branches in England have taken advantage of the repeated invitations of our Hon. Editor to send in their programmes, but during the year few branches from overseas have done so. This is a pity, as naturally we would all like to know what our Overseas Branches are doing.

This publication of programmes can be very useful in suggesting ideas to other branches. An example might be quoted of a north country branch in England holding a meeting devoted to " My Introduction to Dickens " by members. Besides discovering some interesting points, it is an evening which other branches who have not had such an item, might perhaps adopt with profit.

Following an excellent suggestion from the President of the Haarlem Branch, the anniversary date of branches is published against their name on the back of *The Dickensian*. It has, we believe, been the practice of the Haarlem Branch to correspond with other branches on their anniversary dates.

Obviously, branches cannot be expected to correspond with all others, because of the present high cost of stationery and postage. Nor does it seem possible to operate, with any further success, the Regional Group system of branches joining together, owing to the distances involved and high fares.

It is felt by Council therefore that it might be a good idea to encourage, officially, the regular exchange of correspondence between certain specified branches. Each branch, for example, might adopt one or more Overseas Branch, as a sort of " pen-

friend," and either its officers or its members keep in touch regularly, informing them of its activities and exchanging ideas. This is a thought that Council commends to branches for consideration—a serious endeavour to knit our Fellowship more closely together. It is hoped that branch delegates at this Conference will contribute with ideas on this scheme to help with its organisation.

Letters need not necessarily be voluminous and perhaps Sam Weller's sage advice may well apply in making correspondence brief—" She'll vish there was more—that's the great art o' letter writin'." Even Tony Weller agreed—" There's something in that."

The question of a Dickens Competition may be a fruitful subject for consideration, in spite of it proving a failure in the past. Whether the competition should be universal or inter-branch is something worth exploring and will have the attention of your Council in the coming year. Ideas will again be welcome.

This year marks a change of President, the Rev. W. R. Matthews, Dean of St. Paul's, completing his second period of office, at the end of September. During these four years, not only has the Dean lent the lustre of his name, which is indeed highly regarded in all parts of the English-speaking world, but he has been ever willing to help the Fellowship in every possible way. His term of office was marked by the visit of H.M. The Queen Mother, to the Dickens House, and the Fellowship will be for ever grateful to him for his guidance.

His successor elect, whose appointment will be submitted for your acceptance later on the Agenda, Lady Huntingdon, better known in literary circles and on television and radio, as Margaret Lane, novelist, journalist and literary critic, will bring to our Society a scholarly interest in the study of Dickens and the furtherance of that study and a keen desire to add to the prestige of the Fellowship, in the literary world.

Now that the " shouting is all over " so to speak, Council would like to record in this report, the efforts of the Fellowship, fruitless unfortunately, in furtherance of its aims and objects, to preserve No. 1, Devonshire Terrace. This house, so important in the life of Dickens for eleven years, where to mention but only two great masterpieces, *David Copperfield* and *A Christmas Carol* were written, exists no longer. " The frightfully first-class family mansion," of which Dickens became the proud young tenant, is now being replaced by a presumably " frightfully first-class block of offices," and paving stones will cover the garden graced by the old plane trees. Overseas visitors can no longer look upon this reminder of some of the greatest years in the life of Dickens. Fortunately the demolition contractors were unable to burn copies of his works in the ruins of his home and we can still find consolation in those wonderful books.

Delegates may be interested to know that Dickens even invades the world of racehorses. It is, of course, well known that there is a horse named Nicholas Nickleby, but Dickensians should not be in want of tips if they feel like a little flutter. In addition to Nicholas Nickleby, there are eight other Dickens horses—Dickens,

Gads Hill, Bob Sawyer, Gamp, Jenny Wren II, Mark Tapley, Micawber and Mr. Traddles. All you have to do is to take your choice.

It is interesting to record that the City Pickwick Club, well known in the City of London, celebrated its Golden Jubilee in March. The congratulations and good wishes of the Fellowship were sent to them by your Secretary on this occasion.

The Pickwick Bicycle Club, also well known in London, is now 89 years old, having been founded in 1870, immediately after the death of Dickens. This club bids fair to reach its Centenary in the not too distant future, being apparently still in robust health.

The Fellowship is constantly being referred to as the leading authority on Dickens and every effort will be made by its officers to retain that reputation. It behoves every branch to do everything possible to contribute to the prestige and dignity of the Fellowship, in this respect, through its activities, its local press or other media which may be available.

Branches are urged to keep in touch with other branches, to assist each other with programmes, either by the exchange of speakers, or by the exchange of subjects, and to encourage their members to pursue continually their study of Dickens, through the pages of *The Dickensian*, both in current numbers and in back numbers.

Above all, in the pages of Dickens, both in his long stories, and in the lesser known papers, will be found an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the successful continuation of our Fellowship.

Branches of the Fellowship, springing up in new parts of the world, the greater ease of travel, and the fact that so many members have come across the sea for this Conference to meet their fellow members in other countries, raises the hope that Dickens may still play a humble part in proving a common bond between nations and reminds us of the wisdom of old Jacob Marley. Although he did not visualise the word "abroad" to have the meaning we attribute to it in this report, it is well to remember his advice—"It is required of every man that the spirit within him should walk abroad among his fellow men."

THE DICKENS HOUSE

During the year, Mr. A. W. Edwards, now aged 93, retired from the Board of Trustees of the Dickens House. Mr. E. J. Mitchell, who lost his seat on the Board, on his resignation from the Hon. Treasurership of the Fellowship, has been appointed Trustee in place of Mr. Edwards.

THE HON. TREASURER'S REPORT

I have in my hands, said Mr. W. A. Macgregor, the Balance Sheets and relative Income and Expenditure Accounts of the Dickens Fellowship, *The Dickensian*, and The Dickens House. Copies have not been circulated amongst you, so I am not in a position to ask you to take them as read. Nevertheless, it is not my intention—unless it is the wish of the meeting—to read them all through. I propose to follow the precedent set by my predeces-

sor and comment on some of the salient items. The accounts will, however, be available for inspection by any member at any convenient time during the next seven days and will, I hope, be published in the autumn issue of *The Dickensian*.

I will deal first with *The Dickensian* Account. The total receipts for the year ended 31st December, 1958, were little short of 1957—£1,000 against £1,006. The receipts for the sale of back numbers, £268, exceeded by £50 the figure which my predecessor reported last year as the best we had yet known. Unfortunately, this increase was off-set by a drop of almost exactly the same amount in the receipts from sales, including subscriptions. Still more unfortunately, although by no means unexpectedly, owing to rising prices, expenses, particularly postal charges, continue to increase. The result is that the Net Profit of £17 earned last year was converted to a Net Loss of £82. Our Reserve was, however, increased during the year by further generous donations amounting to £101 from "Friends of *The Dickensian*" and it now stands at £941. I can therefore continue to describe the financial status of *The Dickensian* as very satisfactory.

Turning to the accounts of the Fellowship, our income of £650 compares favourably with an income last year of £657, which included an income tax refund of £20. We benefit by increases in Interest on Deposit Account and in the sales of the *Life of Dickens*, but receipts from the sale of Christmas cards fell somewhat. Members should endeavour to put this right next Christmas. Expenditure at £535 compares with £516 last year and our income exceeded our expenditure by £115 as against an excess last year of £141. I trust it is apparent to you all that your new treasurer is endeavouring to maintain his predecessor's persistence in the application of Mr. Micawber's famous advice.

The balance of Capital Account on 1st January, 1958, was £1,308 to which I have to add the excess Income over Expenditure for the Fellowship for the year ended 31st December, 1958, of £115 and deduct the loss on *The Dickensian* of £82, leaving a balance to carry forward of £1,341.

During the year the Fellowship paid its Thirty-fifth Annual Subscription of £15 15*s*. to the Lord Mayor Treloar College at Froyle. In acknowledging it the Appeals' Organiser mentioned that 1958 was the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the College and "The Dickens Fellowship" had been subscribing since 1907 making it the longest constant subscription on their records.

We also received an acknowledgment from the British Empire Cancer Campaign for the sum of £8 8*s*. which the Fellowship contributed to their funds arising out of our visit to the Carriage Exhibition at Great Barford, plus a further £4 15*s*. contributed by individual members.

I must mention one other item of interest to you all, although not strictly of an accountancy nature. The number of visitors to the Dickens House in 1958 reached a total of 6,711, an increase of 331 over the total for 1957.

Here I should place on record my gratitude for the advice and assistance I have received from Mr. Mitchell throughout my first year of office. I must also make mention of the work of our

Assistant Secretary, Miss Minards. I now know, as I have always suspected, that she does not measure the extent of her labours for the Fellowship by the financial rewards she receives and I am glad to have this opportunity of paying this tribute to her services.

My grateful thanks are also due to Messrs. Morris, Gregory and Co., under which nom-de-plume our fellow-Dickensian, Harry Evans of Manchester endeavours to disguise the very real services he continues to render the Fellowship, year after year, as our Hon. Auditor.

On the conclusion of the term of office of the Dean of St. Paul's, to whom the Fellowship has owed so much during the past three years, a successor was nominated by Council. Their choice was Miss Margaret Lane, to whom the Fellowship already owes not a little, and under whose presidency it looks for further progress. The motion was carried with enthusiasm, and Miss Lane is elected for the next term. The existing Vice-Presidents were re-elected and to their number was added the name of Mr. Sydney Walton, an old and good friend of the Fellowship. The existing officers were re-elected, as also were the Hon. Auditors, Messrs. Morris, Gregory and Co., whose senior partner, Mr. H. E. Evans, was present at the meeting and was warmly thanked.

Dealing with *The Dickensian*, Mr. Staples said that he merely wanted to thank again "The Friends of *The Dickensian*," to whose generosity the present happy state of its finances were greatly due. He also paid tribute to the initiative and industry of Miss Minards in her highly successful conduct of the sale of back numbers, which had proved, and was proving, a most valuable aspect of the finances of the magazine.

With regard to future Annual Conferences a cordial invitation to hold it at Southend in 1960 was extended by the President of the Southend Branch, Mr. J. Parkes; and Miss Jessie Edwards, Hon. Secretary of Liverpool, extended another for 1961. Mrs. H. E. Bagley, of Boston, Mass., brought the cordial invitation of Boston to hold the 1962 Conference in that city. This was received with great interest and enthusiasm, and it is confidently hoped that a large number will cross from England and that other branches in North America will give it full support. Portsmouth, which in 1962 will celebrate the 150th anniversary of the birth of Dickens, extended a cordial invitation for members to visit the city in that year and plans were approved provisionally providing for a meeting there in October. (See "When Found—")

David Copperfield was appointed for study as the Book of the Year for the season 1960-1. That for the coming season, *Dombey and Son*, being appointed by last year's Conference.

The admirable Chairman, Mrs. Bonfield, was cordially thanked by Mr. Godfried Bomans in a characteristic speech.

The afternoon was occupied by a canal cruise through the beautiful city of Amsterdam in comfortable glass-roofed boats, and in the evening there was an official reception by the Municipality of Amsterdam in the Vondelpark Pavilion.

Many members attended church services on Sunday morning,

especially that at the English church, after which the company left by special train for Haarlem where luncheon was served in the old Vleeshal. A happy feature of this gathering was the entry of a charming group of young ladies who presented everyone present with a tulip and sang a specially written song, in English. A welcome in verse written and spoken by Mrs. Heerma van Voss, caused much amusement. It concluded:

Lastly, just one little detail:
Some of you, I think, complained
Of the sea that lies between us,
But this sea will soon be drained.

For as soon as we have finished
Sucking dry the Zuyderzee,
We shall tackle the little North Sea
Which will surely soon be " dree."

When your " scepter'd isle " of England
Will, like Marken, by a dike,
Be connected with the mainland,
You can come to us by bike !

The time in the wonderful old city, the home of our hosts, was all too short, but a visit was paid to the wonderful Frans Hals Museum, established in the beautiful buildings of an ancient almshouse, to the magnificent Cathedral of S. Bavo, where a distinguished concert was given for our benefit by Mr. Klaas Bolt on the celebrated organ. A brief call at the fine mediaeval Stadhuis and the special train returned the company to Amsterdam, where, after dinner, there was a strikingly successful gathering at the Krasnapolsky Hotel.

In a programme laden with good things, perhaps the most surprising was the superb playing of the Haarlemse Muziek-kamer. This gave the most exquisite pleasure and the visitors found it difficult to believe that orchestra and soloists were not professionals, and highly efficient professionals at that. Members of the Zwolle Branch caused much amusement by their dramatic presentation of the shooting scene from *Pickwick*, in Dutch, and Mr. Greaves had a great reception for a short recital from *Great Expectations*. The programme was completed by the showing of a beautiful film, in colour, of the visit to Holland, last year, of Queen Elizabeth II.

Monday was devoted to an interesting excursion to the Zuyderzee and its picturesque villages with villagers in costume. Coaches conveyed the party to Monnikendam whence they sailed to Marken, where an hour was spent. The sail was then continued to Volendam where luncheon was served, and coaches boarded for the return to Amsterdam. The evening was occupied by the Conference Dinner at the Krasnapolsky Hotel.

After loyal toasts to Queen Elizabeth, President Eisenhower, and Queen Juliana had been honoured, Dr. E. H. Heldring proposed the toast of the overseas visitors, in the course of which he gave an interesting account of the reception of Dickens's works

in various continental countries. Mrs. H. E. Bagley, of Boston, Mass., replied.

Before the final speech there were several others; by Mr. David Coleman, representative of the British Travel Association in Amsterdam; Mr. Victor Huffham, descendant of Dickens's godfather, which we have not space for, but the following speech of Mr. Godfried Bomans it is impossible not to print.

THE SPLIT INFINITIVE

When I had the honour of proposing " The Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens " at the last Conference in Nottingham, I apologised for having to read my speech, adding the following words: " We will make the same allowances for you, when you speak Dutch next year . . . " There was some laughter then, as there is now. But I see no reason for laughing. It is astonishing, the progress you have made in our language. I have heard you yesterday in Haarlem and this very morning at Volendam chatting away in Dutch and I have just been listening to the small talk here at the top table: it was amazing. To say that you speak it fluently is perhaps saying too much: I noticed some hesitation in choosing the right expressions and there were some slight mistakes in the pronunciation. And it has to be conceded that Miss Minards and Miss Stuart Bunning, when they grew angry, did not hit upon the really crushing phrases; but, taken all in all, the results were most satisfactory and I wish to thank you for your kind efforts and the long dreary winter nights you must needs have pored over your Dutch exercises. Moreover, those mistakes were most certainly made on purpose: you didn't wish to show off your knowledge.

A few days before this Conference started I happened to pass an Old Curiosity Shop in Amsterdam. I am very fond of Dutch curiosity shops, for they are the only real Dickensian places we can boast of. As you all know, the famous Old Curiosity Shop in London is not a genuine Dickensian place and neither are the Dutch ones. It is a pity the owners are fully unaware of this glorious fact, otherwise they would have grown enormously rich. By the way, as most of you are strangers here, we say " rich." We pronounce the " ch " as if there were a " t " before it: rich. Very well. I will not pursue the subject. So I went in and bought a book with the very promising title: " How to speak English in four days." The book was written in two languages: English, on the right side, and Russian on the left, as it should be. Now my English may be poor, my Russian, I regret to say, is even poorer. I am regretting this, because the possibility that in the future some knowledge of this dialect might be useful is much greater on this side of the North Sea than on yours. In glancing through the book, I came across a very severe admonition, printed in italics. I couldn't make out what it precisely meant, but it had something to do with the absolute necessity of avoiding the " Split Infinitive."

Now what is a Split Infinitive? I had not the faintest idea and the Russian explanation, doubtless clear in itself, failed to reach me. Even translated Russian explanations are not always

understandable. However, I had to know it, for I wished to avoid by all means at this banquet the Split Infinitive. But suddenly I remembered the sound advice of Mr. Pott's, critic on the *Eatanswill Gazette*, who wrote, as you all know, a very learned article on Chinese Metaphysics. He read up for the subject in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, first reading for Metaphysics under the letter M. and then for China under the letter C. and combining the information afterwards. So I looked up in my *Encyclopædia Britannica* the word "infinitive" and found that it meant "endless." Now this was clear. The English opinion about speeches is evidently that you cannot rise to your feet without at least having the intention of sitting down some time. The continental habit of speaking on and on, for days and nights, seems to be frowned upon in your country.

Good, so much for the Infinitive. And now, what is a "split"? I looked that up too and found several meanings. To begin with you can split a bottle. I noticed that some of you did at these square tables. You can split an empire, as you all did, at round tables. You can split your sides, as you did just now. You can even split hairs, as I am doing at the moment. But can you split an Infinitive? Can you divide something that is in itself and by definition endless? No, you cannot. So what is my conclusion? That the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is just a book of nonsense, written by a blockhead with a split brain. We will spare him and not split the information upon the editor, but he would be wise if he ran away from the book as hard as he could split.

Searching for another explanation suddenly the solution of this riddle began to dawn upon me. Was it possible that the Split Infinitive bore some reference to the Dickens Fellowship? Could it mean that the friendship in our society, though in itself boundless, is split by the periods between each annual conference? That we see each other only once a year and that our mutual friendship is split by the intervening days? That we, fellow Dickensians, split by seas and oceans, can only meet on days few and far between, but that nevertheless our love is enduring and knows neither time nor frontier? Yes, my dear friends, the great glory of the Dickens Fellowship is its Split Infinitive!

But now I have to deal with a very difficult problem. Why is it that my Russian textbook warns me against the Split Infinitive and entreats its European readers never to use it? Because Russia knows that this special kind of European friendship is deadly dangerous for its own supremacy. The Russian leaders are fully aware that each European country, as long as it considers itself autonomous and goes on living in splendid isolation, is a helpless and easy prey.

But from the instant that Europe is conscious of its unity, and of being a great, old family with its own Christian creed and tradition, Russia will be lost. We have to rebuild, each in his own place and function, our common house, split though it be. And I am proud of the fact that the Dickens Fellowship in its own modest way works in this direction. We, members of different countries, know each other, and above all, we understand the

infinite word of Christ that is with us, split as it may be by different interpretations. And do not think, Dickensians, that this attitude, so dear to the heart of Charles Dickens himself, is a mere luxury. No, it is a sheer necessity. We have no choice. We are fighting with our backs to the wall. And there is no rescue but unity and mutual understanding. Don't make the terrible mistake of thinking that somebody else can help us and that we can afford to sit back with folded arms. No one and nothing can help us, no American money, nor atomic bombs nor even the dreadful missiles they are preparing overseas. We are not fighting against Russian weapons. We are fighting against an idea, the idea of a Godless world, and a way of thinking that denies all our Christian values.

And believe me when I say this: you cannot defeat an idea with force. The only thing you can do is to create another idea and a better one. And this idea is the revival of the old Christian brotherhood, the great European fellowship, built on the only book of Dickens that nobody reads: *The Life of Our Lord.*

THE IMMORTAL MEMORY

The Toast to the Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens was proposed by Mrs. Maria Wilkens, of the Haarlem Branch, in a speech from which the following has been culled:

The reason that I have been asked to give this speech to-night is that the President of the Haarlem Branch wanted it to be made, not by a person of fame and renown, but by " just one of us."

Being a newcomer, I had not planned to travel far; but can one, following Charles Dickens's trail, know where he will take us ? Will there not come a moment when I shall be afraid or fearful to go on ? And feeling in want of words and wings can I, like Scrooge, trust to a Spirit to come for my welfare ?

" Bear but a touch of my hand *there,*" said the Spirit, laying it upon his heart, " and you shall be upheld in more than this ! "

I placed my trust in him and went out to use my eyes to see those worlds which I knew must be waiting for everyone of us, if we only cared to look for them.

Of genius it can be said that if there are some few to understand it, there is no doubt that away from its personal fascination, few can stand it !

The world of a great author is the entire world, the earth we live on, the spheres around it. Whatever he puts up as a background to his personages, his intention is universal.

Describing the events of every day life one may hear accompanying note to each occurrence, to all conversation, even to each interior monologue. An unaccountable agency seems to make itself known in an emphatic, inescapable way.

Without further explanation the author imparts to his readers, by this medium, to what extent certain happenings are in harmony, or in discordance, with this keynote. Though he may be entirely unaware of it, this note is the author's spiritual standard.

As in the case of Charles Dickens it is the purity and the quality of this note that combined with his unequalled talent for writing,

penetrate into the heart and soul of the reader and thus make us partake in a tremendous and glorious scheme.

The technique and the materialism that for the greater part are conquering the earth, have not quite conquered men's hearts and even less can they appeal to any man's soul.

And praise God this is so. Were it otherwise, were there not countless people wondering in these days where it will all lead to, we might put a black cross at the chapter of the history of mankind as we now know it.

The earth is on the eve of her destruction or at the dawn of a new birth.

Human beings are blessed with a free will. Charles Dickens passionately points out that by it we can make life hell, or near heaven.

Dickens puts his trust in the wretched little boys that are Deputies at the " Traveller's Twopenny," who stone what deserves to be stoned and who continuously repeat their piercing cry of warning.

People of the earth are ravenous for want of belief. Oliver Twist on the front page of our menu tonight is still " asking for more." All over the world people are suffering from want.

Could Humanity but open up that new story that Dickens had in mind: bring together strongly contrasted sets of people by means of an electric message, *be* that message, says Dickens, flashing along through space, over the earth and under the sea!

And to me it seems that Charles Dickens *is* that message. If we would only read it and accept it *by its entire meaning.*

Going through our countryside in these glorious weeks of spring, seeing the fields ablaze with flowers, I felt so happy and overjoyed with the beauty around me that it seemed as if I owned the spring. I stooped, and gathering all I could, made a garland of it, and although it is invisible, I have carried it here, and propose, in the name of us all, to offer it as a tribute to the Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens.

The toast of the Chairman, Mr. Godfried Bomans, was in the hands of Mr. John Greaves who firmly grasped the opportunity of expressing our thanks to the Haarlem Branch for the brilliant programme arranged for us and for seeing it through equally brilliantly. Credit for this outstanding success, astonishing when it is remembered that the branch has not yet seen its third birthday and that its guests numbered over two hundred, none of whom could speak the language, except Mrs. Bonfield who had mastered it as far as the opening of her address was concerned, must go to the entire branch, but in particular to Mr. Godfried Bomans, Founder and President.

The dinner brought the official part of Conference to a conclusion but the greater part of the company stayed on for several days, many until the end of the week. During these days, private entertaining was offered by the Amsterdam Hostesses, ladies who throw open their homes to visiting foreigners, thus affording invaluable experiences of Dutch family life and of the deservedly far-famed Dutch hospitality. These ladies also organised several

full day excursions by coach to various parts of the country of which the visitors took full advantage, and the thanks of the Fellowship is also cordially extended to them.

Another name which must not be omitted is that of Mr. John Nÿssen, who met the main party on arrival at Hook of Holland and was guide, courier and friend to us all, throughout.

One day's excursion during that week must receive more detailed description. It took place on the Thursday and took over ninety of us to Zwolle, the town of Holland's second branch of the Fellowship. A journey of something more than an hour by train brought us there, where we were met by Dr. J. W. Schotman, the President, and some of his colleagues. Coaches were boarded for a tour of the pleasant town with its ramparts and towers, including a visit to the interesting Overijsels Museum, of which Dr. Schotman is a Director. Out through the countryside to Kampen where lunch was served, and on again to the picturesque village of Giethoorn, the " streets " of which were negotiated in punts, each house occupying its little island garden. After tea, the coaches took us through quaint villages in a quiet, unspoiled setting where national costume is still worn. At one village a halt was made while a cheese farm was inspected. And so back to Zwolle, where another group of Dickensians had assembled to aid Dr. Schotman in bidding us au revoir, on regaining our reserved carriages for Amsterdam. Our thanks are cordially offered to him for a perfectly organised day which will not easily be forgotten by the ninety members who benefited by it.

Thus ended one of the most memorable Conferences in our history. Nothing was spared to make the visitors feel at home and the constant thought for their welfare was everywhere apparent. Gifts appeared in visitors' rooms every morning, taking the shape of Dutch cheese, bulbs, " Pickwick " tea, and Dutch shoes containing miniature bottles of Dutch liqueur. Every morning there punctually appeared the *Dutch Dickensian Daily News* which kept us up-to-date with arrangements and kept us amused. Many members will cherish a run of the four issues of this unique journal. Finally, on one day, there was a special post office whence visitors' mail was post-marked with a special cancellation stamp bearing a head of Dickens. Letters and cards bearing stamps with the head of Queen Juliana, superimposed with the head of Charles Dickens will also remain valued souvenirs of a wonderful Conference.

Thank you, Godfried Bomans, and all your colleagues in Haarlem, Amsterdam, and beyond. Our high expectations could not possibly have been more happily and conspicuously fulfilled, and our debt is immense.

L.C.S.

FOR THE DICKENSIAN'S BOOKSHELF

I

The Maturity of Dickens, by Monroe Engel. Harvard University Press, $4. Oxford University Press, 25*s*.

With this book, essentially a collection of more or less fugitive articles and essays which have been sufficiently refined and elaborated upon to effectively illustrate the central thesis that " . . . the crucial aspect of Dickens's achievement is the absolute continuity of his commitments and materials . . . the astonishing range and development within that continuity " Professor Engel adds measurably to the critical edifice which has been building since the publication of Humphry House's *The Dickens World* (1941) and upon which steady progress has been made since the end of World War II. Indeed, although a large part of what he presents here is original, it is obvious that he owes much (possibly even more than he realises) to the work of Wilson, House, Johnson and Ford—to mention only a few who have gone over the ground before him. There is in *The Maturity of Dickens* what the intelligent Dickensian has come to expect from the expert student: responsible and scholarly hypothesis and evaluation.

The book is divided into two parts: Part I, which comprises a little better than one third of the whole, may be considered as a treatment of the " materials " aspect of the continuity (Chapter I, *The Strategy of the Novel*; Chapter II, *The Social and Political Issues*); Part II, the " commitments," which are revealed to the student and analyst by the themes, public and private, which Dickens interpolates (Chapter III, *The Early Novels*; Chapter IV, *The Sense of Society*; Chapter V, *The Sense of Self*; Chapter VI, *Addenda*: *The Sports of Plenty*).

For me Chapter I is the most interesting and the most valuable. It is well documented as it must needs be, attempting as it does to construct from Dickens's letters, his prefaces to the novels, and, finally, from his own contributions to *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* a literary creed and philosophy of art. Nowhere has this been so well and so economically suggested as it is here and it is therefore especially welcome. But equally important is the way in which in this chapter and the next Professor Engel has made restrained and judicial use of the two obvious sources which still await systematic exploitation. He reminds us of Dickens's own published statement that he was responsible for the opinions expressed in his periodicals. And so in Chapter II Dickens's attitudes are reconstructed in this new light which, willy-nilly, reveals him more personally concerned with, involved in, and knowledgeable about a wider range of subjects than a single imagination however fertile would seem capable of encompassing. All of this multiplicity to prepare himself for the more arduous if not more serious other half of his dual rôle as social critic-historian and reform novelist. This chapter is something more than an annotation of House's *The Dickens World*—but it is that too.

Part II, the thematic study, concentrates on the novels that

follow *Martin Chuzzlewit* because Professor Engel feels that these show more clearly the development of Dickens as a self-conscious artist than do his earlier works. It is curious that K. J. Fielding in his *Charles Dickens, A Critical Introduction* (1958) should recognise the necessity of just such a division for substantially the same reasons. (This augurs a rapprochement long overdue between the English and American points of view which, however desirable, cannot be forced but must come naturally.) As has been suggested above, much of the ground covered by Professor Engel—and nowhere so much as in the treatment of Dickens's themes—has already received adequate treatment. But, nevertheless, he does offer some new interpretations and fresh insights which are not only satisfying to this reviewer but which any Dickensian will ignore with serious peril to his more perfect understanding.

That intuition, that peculiar mystic with which Dickens seemed endowed which made his " truth " at the same time subjective and objective, emotional and intelligent, Professor Engel wisely recognises as inexplicable, a part of his genius. Rather it is his purpose to show how " like most writers of fiction, he uses the smaller, more intense world of youthful memory as control from which to move out to the larger, more diffuse world of maturity." We can only hope that the author is not himself satisfied that he has written all that he wishes to write upon the subject; that he will not in future continue to restrict himself to articles and papers. There is always need for another *quality* full-length critical study and that is what one by Monroe Engel in light of the present, irrefutable evidence must be. *The Maturity of Dickens* is " must " reading !

NOEL C. PEYROUTON.

II

The Comic World of Dickens, by Bernard Schilling. John Murray. 6*s*.

A book of excerpts, typical of the humour of Dickens can hardly help but be successful. The only question to be considered therefore is whether the choice of excerpts is adequate and whether they will lead readers, unfamiliar with Dickens, into reading the books themselves, which is surely the principal aim of selections of this sort.

No one can quarrel with Mr. Bernard Schilling's choice in his selection, *The Comic World of Dickens*, which he has confined to Sam and Tony Weller, Mrs. Gamp and Mr. Micawber—only perhaps with the title. This can only be a mere corner of the Comic World of Dickens, dealing perhaps with the leading lights of that community.

I agree with the compiler that the earlier books from which these excerpts are taken are rich in great humour and great humorous creations, but not that the later books offer " no such perfect specimens of the comic " as those he has chosen; nor would I agree with him that Barnaby Rudge has " no satisfactory comic aspect." John Willet, Miggs, Sim Tappertit can hardly

be dismissed so lightly! *Great Expectations* surely contains some of the greatest humour of Dickens.

Sometimes Mr. Schilling lifts whole chapters from the books. Perhaps a few words of introduction would have helped the newcomer to Dickens to appreciate the significance and reason of the episodes.

I am sorry that Mr. Schilling dismisses Sergeant Buzfuz as stupid. Poor Mr. Phunky earned that appellation, but not the cute and wily Buzfuz, who made so much out of so little, to Mr. Pickwick's misfortune. Nor do I think that Dickens has been served as well as he might have been in Sairey's Tea Party. There are two natural climaxes in that episode—the shower of wooden pippins and " lambs could not forgive nor worms forget." To go beyond that in an excerpt is not even to paint the lily, but to spoil an otherwise perfect gem. I was interested to see that Emlyn Williams made the same mistake in his book of excerpts, which is strange in one so theatrically minded.

The cover of this little book, reasonably priced at 6*s*., succeeds in retaining the effectiveness of a dust cover in more permanent form.

JOHN GREAVES

BLEAK HOUSE AS A PLAY

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP PLAYERS presented *Scenes from Bleak House*, a play from the book written and produced by Jane Bacon, in the Portland Hall, the beautiful theatre of the London Polytechnic, on April 30th last.

While the play did not pretend to give the whole story it did in fact, by stressing the two main themes, tell all that was essential —the tragedy of the law's delays and that of Lady Dedlock. But the emphasis was on the second of these. The Jarndyce wards and their guardian, meeting in the offices of Mr. Tulkinghorn (brilliantly played by D. L. Murray) linked the stories.

The ill-starred lady of Chesney Wold was played with feeling and restraint by Betty Watling, while Albert Regan, as Sir Leicester, in voice, bearing and height, gave his part the necessary dignity, his final scene being particularly impressive. Caroline Stuart Bunning's Hortense was admirably dramatic.

Interspersed with the story of the Dedlocks, we had scenes laid in Bleak House, with Colin Cox as Jarndyce and Doris Day as Esther, both giving good performances.

Jane Bacon played Miss Flite, owing to the unfortunate illness of Violet Shaw. Having written the play, Mrs. Bacon was able to convey all she wanted in this pathetic little figure.

Scenes set in the Snagsby menage offered a welcome break for laughter, the inimitable Chadband—John Greaves at his best, Mrs. Chadband, the Snagsbys and their delightful Guster, all being admirable.

Inspector Bucket, a difficult part well played, the charm of Ada, the wayward Richard, the serene Mrs. Rouncewell, the

wretched Jo and the irrepressible Guppy—all these would have moved Dickens, according to one member of the audience, to have declared that " These are my people ! "

With a cast of twenty playing twenty-two parts, it is impossible to mention all in this review, but they must be praised for their team work. This would have shown to even greater advantage had the pace been faster, but the energetic and gifted company were heartily applauded by a full house for an excellent evening's entertainment.

The costumes were provided by the Costume Department of the Dickens Fellowship, and the proceeds of the performance, £60, were devoted to the St. Paul's Cathedral Restoration Fund.

GWEN MAJOR

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR.

There has always been, for me, a problem in the account of the escape and subsequent capture of Magwitch in the closing chapters of *Great Expectations*. By coming back to England, Magwitch had risked the death penalty, and Compeyson had now given him away. Pip, Herbert Pocket and Startop were thus assisting a condemned criminal to escape: surely a most indictable offence ! I have consulted Blackstone of the period who, of course, confirms it. Assisting a criminal to escape justice was as serious an offence then as it is now. Yet the police who arrested Magwitch did nothing about the three others who were concerned in the escape; and no proceedings were taken against them afterwards. Was Dickens nodding ? Or was it deliberate—a kind of author's licence ? Can you, or any reader, help me ?

Broadstairs Branch. H. W. HAZLEWOOD.

SIR.

I am preparing a book on " Dickens as an Editor." As your readers will know, the Contributors' Book for *Household Words* has survived, and this gives the authorship of the anonymous contributions; unfortunately, the corresponding Book for *All the Year Round* seems to have disappeared. One of my tasks is to discover who was writing for the latter periodical. Dickens's letters give much information about this, and so do the memoirs written by some of his colleagues, and books reprinting their essays originally published in *All the Year Round*.

I would be grateful to hear from any of your readers who possess letters written by or about Dickens's contributors, which throw any light on this question, or which contain any information about his activities as an editor. I would of course be willing to answer any enquiries from students of Dickens about the authorship of *All the Year Round* articles and, the more help your readers can give me, the more chance there will be that I can give a positive answer.

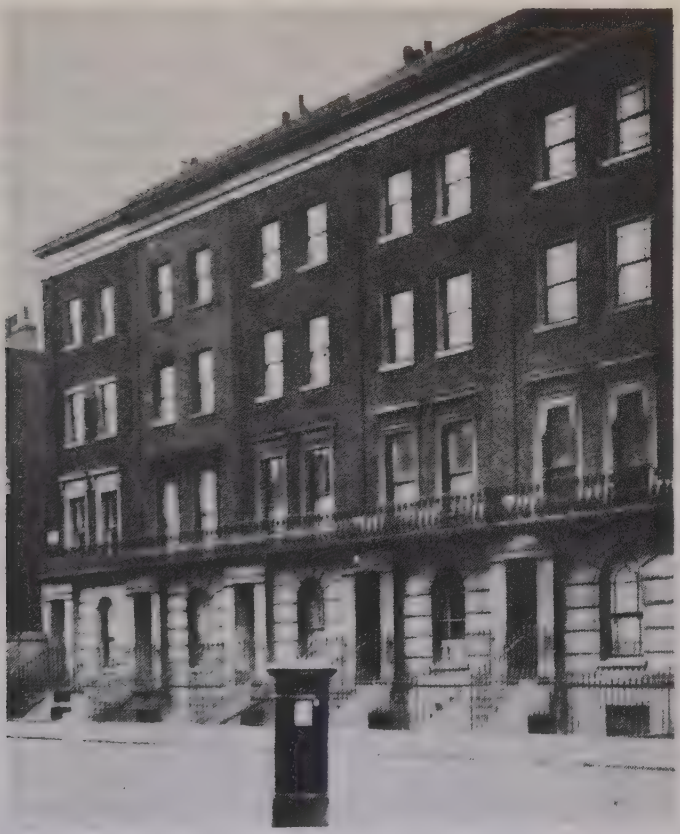
Vaughan College, Leicester. P. A. W. COLLINS.

THE THEATRICAL TERNANS

By Malcolm Morley

Part VI

At the time of leaving the Haymarket Theatre, Ellen Ternan was living with her mother and sister Maria in Ampthill Square. Her eldest sister Fanny was still in Italy studying singing with Romani. Mrs. Ternan, then in her first retirement from the



No. 2 Houghton Place, Ampthill Square
second house on the left. Destroyed in World War II

Dickens House Collection

stage, kept house for her two younger daughters, Maria very active at the Haymarket, and Ellen whose connection with that establishment was ending. The house where they lived was a four-storied building with an area basement. It stood in a terrace, and was little different from other Victorian houses in other terraces in the then residential district of Camden Town. According to prevailing standards the house was comfortable and commodious. Domestic help was a prime requisite where the several flights of stairs were the usual accompaniment of such a dwelling.

Here, Mrs. Ternan, Maria and Ellen, entertained their friends; although Maria, constantly concerned with the theatre and its issues, could have had little time for amenities other than those connected with her work. Often on Sunday there would be a call for rehearsal that took her away from home. She had the words of her parts to learn and frocks to arrange for the various roles for which she was cast. In those days actresses had to provide most of the dresses they wore on the stage, no small matter financially, and one involving considerable application, seeing to the making and remaking of the costumes.

Guests of the Ternans would include people with whom they had been artistically associated. Francesco Berger, composer of the incidental music in *The Frozen Deep*, in which all of the three Ternan ladies had acted in Manchester, was a welcomed visitor. Sunday was a favourite day with him. Dickens, too, was a visitor at Ampthill Square. Berger is quoted as saying that he often played cards there with Mrs. Ternan, Ellen and Charles. It is probable that the four of them sat down to whist and on occasions to quadrille, the forerunner of whist, and a game long in vogue. Dickens in his earlier days had found relaxation in quadrille and Mrs. Ternan, an old timer, was certainly acquainted with it. Supper would follow. After the meal came music when Charles and Ellen sang duets to the pianoforte accompaniment of Berger. What were the duets they sang together ? Popular with drawing-room singers at that time were Mendelssohn's " Fast, ah, too fast fade the Roses of Pleasure " and John Barnett's " I will gather the Rose." The flower was popular both in verse and song. Maybe, by way of an encore, Dickens obliged with one of the comic songs he chortled in his youth. It might even have been that Berger tinkled the piano and burst into " I must go out on Sunday "—a favourite lyric at the time. Laughter was not forbidden at Ampthill Square.

Maria was now the sole member of the family occupied with the theatre. The Haymarket absorbed all her time and attention. She was to remain there for a year following Ellen's departure, and to appear in part after part. Some of them were new to her, others those she had played before. On September 15th, 1859, she played the marriageable Eliza in *Paul Pry*, the successful comedy by John Poole in which the keenly curious Paul with his catch phrase, " I hope I don't intrude " was acted for the first time by Charles Mathews. Maria was Celia in *As You Like It* on September 19th, and Hero in *Much Ado About Nothing*, on October 5th, characters that Ellen had interpreted only a short time before on the same stage. Amy Sedgwick came back to star for a spell and on October 20th was seen as Mrs. Oakley in *The Jealous Wife*, the elder Colman's play based on Fielding's novel of *Tom Jones*, and as Lady Bell in *Know Your Own Mind*. Maria supported her as Harriet in the former and as Miss Neville (billed as a poor relation) in the latter. More of the familiar stock pieces followed. The young actress was Emma Thornton in *The Bachelor of Arts* on November 17th, Ellen Vortex in *A Cure for the Heart-ache* on December 5th, and Maria in *The School for Scandal* on December 23rd. On Boxing Day *The Evil Genius* by Bayle

Bernard was revived when she played Clara, a slight and unimportant role.

A new comedy in three acts, *The Overland Route*, by Tom Taylor, was produced on February 23rd, 1860, and proved one of the biggest successes the Haymarket had had for a decade. It was to be revived there again and again. Maria's part in this entertaining fable of sorts was the light-hearted Mary Colepepper. The piece dealt with a shipload of individuals wrecked upon a barren reef where their true and incompetent selves are revealed. The only person able to adapt to the situation is Tom Dexter, a veritable Jack-of-all-Trades, played by Charles Mathews. He becomes leader of the castaways and straightens out all their entanglements. The comedy partner of Tom aboard ship, and on the reef, was Mary Colepepper. The central idea in Taylor's play was later used by James Barrie to great effect in another successful comedy, *The Admirable Crichton*.

Adding to her list of characters, Maria was Ellen Courtley on February 28th in Joseph Lunn's old farce *A Fish out of Water*. On March 21st she played Helen in *Founded on Facts*, and the same evening Miss Manvers in *The Boarding School*. The Easter production on April 9th was *The Pilgrim of Love* by H. J. Byron. Though labelled an extravaganza it was more of a straightforward romance, being taken from Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra*. Maria acted Alegonda, a Spanish Princess enamoured of a Moorish Prince, a young man who has been kept in seclusion all his life and grown up completely ignorant of love. On April 30th she was seen as Mrs. Herbert in *Victims*, something of a family role since both her mother and Ellen had played the part previously. Maria Ternan's name was last billed at the Haymarket on June 27th, 1860, when she was set down as Miss Colepepper in *The Overland Route*. The following night the part was assigned to Miss Henrade, another young actress at the theatre.

Maria went immediately to Edinburgh where she had been engaged by R. H. Wyndham for a summer season at the Queen's theatre. During her stay J. L. Toole played a starring visit. They must have joked together for Toole was an inveterate fun-maker on and off the stage. Maria repeated a number of her familiar roles including Zerlina in the *Fra Diavolo* burlesque. She was Gertrude in *The Loan of a Lover* and Prince Almond in Planche's extravaganza *The Good Woman in the Wood*. The short engagement terminated in September when Maria hurried home for a family reunion.

Fanny was back from Italy. It was two years since the sisters had seen each other, and the meeting was an exciting occasion. There was so much the two had to tell each other. The elder girl's time in Florence had been happily and profitably spent. With Romani as master she had worked at her singing. Under his guidance she had made acquaintance with the important roles in Italian opera, and developed the range and quality of her voice. At the Villa Trollopino she had made many friends. The place was rarely without guests versed in art and literature. Charles Lever the novelist, Charles Fuller the sculptor, Isabelle Blagden

and Pulszki the exiled Hungarian patriot were part of the social circle. They all paid homage to dogmatic and downright Mrs. Trollope. Fanny had sat absorbed listening to the stories of the old lady whose memory, though vague concerning the present, was crystal clear about the past. Mrs. Trollope spoke of her years in America, of her long eventful life, of her meetings with Fennimore Cooper, Lafayette and Benjamin Constant, of the fascination of Madame Récamier and of her Salon where the lions of French literature congregated. She told of Dickens whom she had first

Mrs. Frances Trollope
1780-1863

met in March, 1838, when he was presented to her by Mrs. Bartley, the actress. They had talked a lot, and she described him as extremely lively then, and intelligent, with the appearance of being very young and, although called excessively shy, seemed not at all adverse from conversation. Tom, the scholarly son of Mrs. Trollope, had greatly impressed Fanny. She had been intrigued with his treasures, the countless books, row upon row, in his carefully selected library. With Tom's wife, Theodosia, and their little daughter, Bice, as Beatrice was invariably dubbed, she had formed an endearing friendship.

But Fanny, her ambition never dulled, was now back in England seeking stardom in the operatic world. What doors would open to her? Grand opera flourished at Covent Garden, recently rebuilt from the ruins of the previous theatre destroyed by fire. Seasons of Italian opera with Mario, Bosio, Grisi and other world-famous singers, and to which all fashionable London flocked, alternated with seasons by Frederick Gye and Louisa

Pyne, when opera was sung in English. At the rival establishment, Her Majesty's Opera House in the Haymarket, Benjamin Lumley had met with defeat and E. T. Smith, the policeman-impressario, had taken the place over. He was to open later in the year and bring out the thoroughly English opera of George Macfarren, *Robin Hood*, in the cast of which were Fanny's early mentor, Sims Reeves, and a young baritone rising rapidly to fame, Charles Santley.

Neither house was prepared to consider Fanny as a principal singer—immediately. Maybe later! But Fanny was impatient and when, fortuitously, an opportunity came along for her to sing leading roles in the less modish East End of London she did not hesitate. The Pavilion in the Mile End Road was a large theatre; the pit alone held a thousand people. John Douglass, the manager, had changed the policy from melodrama to opera, and had also changed the name Pavilion to that of the Eastern Opera House. A first-class company was engaged. Among the singers were Augustus Braham (son of a famous father, John Braham), Edmund Rosenthal, H. Corri and Florence Lancia. The conductors were B. Isaaason and Meyer Lutz. Opera was given in English four evenings of the week and in Italian for the remaining two.

The announcement was made that on Friday, September 21st, 1860, Fanny Ternan would make her first appearance since her return from Italy. On that evening she sang Arline in *The Bohemian Girl*, the most popular of all Balfe's works. During her stay of ten weeks at the Eastern Opera House, Fanny was heard as Lady Henrietta in *Martha* (Flotow), Amina in *La Sonnambula* (Bellini), Marie in *The Daughter of the Regiment* (Donizetti), Agnes in *Der Freischütz* (Weber), Eolia in *The Mountain Sylph* (Barnett) and Julia in *Guy Mannering*. On several occasions she gave operatic selections in Italian after the main production, and before the afterpiece with which the bill nearly always ended. A contemporary journal, *The Players*, said: " Miss Ternan wins golden opinions from crowded audiences. Her voice is pleasant and flexible." She had made good—but was it good enough?

Whilst Fanny was in the East End, Maria continued in the West End of London returning to the Lyceum now under the management of the French melodramatic actress Madame Céleste whose partnership with Benjamin Webster had ruled the Adelphi for fifteen years. As many theatrical partnerships do, it ended in a quarrel and the severence of interests. Webster remained to reign at the Adelphi and Celeste, in want of a theatre, rented the Lyceum vacated by Charles Dillon. It would be true to say the best days of this clever mimetic actress were over although she still enacted both youthful heroines and, as often as not, youthful heroes.

The season at the Lyceum opened on October 1st, 1860, when Maria played Mary Anne Melton in *The Brigand and His Banker*, by Tom Taylor, a play patterned to an extent upon his successful *The Overland Route* in as much as a varied assortment of people are herded together in circumstances that bring out the less

attractive sides of their natures. They are a party of tourists captured by brigands from whom they are all plotting different ways of escape, each selfishly without a thought of the others. The piece was a dire failure and came off at the end of the week. On October 29th Maria was seen again as her namesake Maria in *The School for Scandal* with Joey Gougenheim as Lady Teazle. On November 5th a fanciful comedy, *The Pets of the Parterre*, by J. Stirling Coyne, was produced. In this old world fantasy the several ladies attending the Countess Albertine, played by Maria, masqueraded as various flowers so providing a ballet divertisement which was led by the dancer Lydia Thompson. The jeune premier was handsome Henry Neville, new to London. Maria's next character was Fanny Dawson in *Handy Andy* an adaptation of Lover's novel given on November 26th. Then followed Lady Emily in *The Irish Ambassador* on December 10th in support of John Drew the Irish comedian.

For the Christmas holidays the offering at the Lyceum on December 26th was *Chrystabelle*, an extravaganza by Edmund Falconer. Maria enacted the title role, a Princess vowed only to wed the Prince who will find for her a rose without a thorn. In the revels held at her court, Chrystabelle impersonated Titania, Queen of the Fairies.[1] To help the illusion of the scene, the theatre was diffused throughout with the fragrance of rose and wild briar. Such was the realism in the theatre a century ago. The early months of 1861 saw Maria still at the Lyceum where business was at a low ebb despite the scent sprays in the audience. On February 4th she was the effervescing Aurilia in *The Young Widow*, a familiar farce by T. G. Rodwell. Her last new part at the theatre was Adeline in *The House on the Bridge of Notre Dame*, on February 11th. This was a cut and thrust melodrama very much from the French, taken by Rophino Lacy from the pottage of T. Barriere and H. de Koch. Celeste had a dual role such as she liked. She played two young men, one supposedly killed in a duel and thrown down a trap door into the water below; the other, his half-brother, who passes for him, much to the confusion of the villainous characters in the play. Anxious and distressed at events, Adeleine stood by, as something of a cousin in waiting. The season came to an end on March 16th. Maria was disengaged. In stage parlance she was " Resting." And many of the best players have had periods of Resting.

In the provincial cities there was a steady demand for Grand Opera in English, and a number of companies were travelling round the country presenting the approved musical works of that time. The touring system was establishing itself more and more. Operatic companies with chorus and carrying scenery booked dates at different centres from week to week. Eliot Gayler, noted for his high tenor voice, had formed the London Grand Opera Co. and on Boxing Day, 1860, began his fourth annual tour at the Theatre Royal, Worcester. Madame Rudersdorff, who had previously sung the soprano leads with him, was not returning to the fold, being busy organising an opera group of her own. Fanny was invited to take her place as Prima Donna of the the

[1] The subject of her portrait in the January issue of *The Dickensian* (page 41).

London Grand Opera Co. Prima Donna ! At last she had achieved what she had set her heart on, even though she had not yet reached the heart of the great metropolis.

Fanny's opening role in Worcester was Maritana in Wallace's opera of that name. Her voice, called a lofty soprano by a contemporary critic, matched up to the high tenor tones of Gayler as Don Caesar de Bazan. The tour lasted without a break until March 27th, 1861. Among the towns visited were Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Cheltenham, Derby, Doncaster with its many associations, Bradford, Huddersfield, Leicester and Swansea. Fanny sang Arline in *The Bohemian Girl*, Lady Henrietta in *Martha*, Leonora in *Il Trovatore* (Verdi), Amina in *La Sonnambula*, Elvira in *The Rose of Castille* (Balfe), Giselle in *The Night Dancers* (Loder), Maid Marion in *Robin Hood*, and Saturnella in *Saturnella* (Balfe). In addition there were the musical farces concluding the evening's entertainment, and in which she sometimes appeared. Her singing was generally praised; but her acting, so natural and unaffected in girlhood, seems to have become self-conscious and intense. A cryptic notice in the " Bradford Observer " said of her performance in *Robin Hood*: " Miss Ternan's style to our mind is a little too much forced, exaggeration being less compatible with the legitimate drama than with the caricature of burlesque." A criticism that itself seems surely " a little too much forced."

During Passion Week the theatres were closed and when Gayler resumed touring at Easter, Fanny was no longer with the Company. She had returned home, though she was soon to be summoned by the English Opera Co. as Madame Rudersdorff's new organisation was named, to the Theatre Royal, Brighton, where on April 25th, 1861, she sang in *The Bohemian Girl* in place of Madame who had gone, at short notice, to Covent Garden.

The provincial opera companies in the 1860's, all with names much of a sameness, were perpetually forming and reforming, the singers going from one combination to another. Audiences must have been puzzled as to what was what, and who was who, in the various organisations. Intense rivalry existed between the different groups, yet at the same time there was an interlocking of forces. Another new formation, the Royal English Opera Co. was heralded in the summer of 1861. Three of its directors, Oliver Summers, Edmund Rosenthal and Mayer Lutz had been at the Pavilion when Fanny was there the previous autumn. She was engaged as Prima Donna. Eliot Gayler and his wife, Fanny Reeves, were also with the new venture. Gayler's own company lay fallow at the time. The now extensive repertoire of Fanny extended to Violetta in *La Traviata* (Verdi), Zerlina in *Fra Diavolo* (Auber), La Catarina in *The Crown Diamonds* (Auber) and Polly in *The Beggar's Opera.*

The ambitious young woman certainly gained recognition and reputation as a Prima Donna, but she did not find in the work the full satisfaction she had expected. Constantly travelling, the life was not conducive to the literary efforts she was attempting. Something of the Villa Trollopino remained with her and, maybe, she was beginning to wish she could emulate Mrs. Trollope, the aged writer for whom she had such veneration; to live among

books, to talk about books and to write books herself. Nor did Fanny enter greatly into the artistic life on tour, its petty wrangles and small jealousies. The day by day association with the Company, thrown together on the journeys from town to town, in the theatre and in lodgings or hotels, did not allow her to concentrate upon the thoughts tumbling in her mind without her appearing reserved and standoffish. Fanny, though never without an unoccupied moment, was feeling lonely.

The tour of the Royal English Opera Co. began in Portsmouth on June 10th, 1861, where a stay of two weeks was made. Then came Norwich, followed by Cambridge and Leeds. Eliot Gayler, wanting to head his own company again, left the concern taking with him Fanny Reeves who sang the contralto roles. There was great argument about the titles to be used distinguishing the companies. Gayler naturally insisted on having the one he had used before, that of the London Grand Opera Co. As if to claim some affiliation with the Gayler organisation, the name of the Royal English Opera Co. was changed to the London Royal Opera Co. Confusing, to say the least. The principal tenor was now A. St. Aubyn, and for the contralto leads Fanny suggested Maria who had done little since her engagement at the Lyceum. If only partially trained, Maria's voice had a pleasing quality. Not as good a singer as Fanny Reeves, she was a better actress, and would be an acquisition in the farces that nightly concluded the bill. At Halifax on July 29th, Maria joined the Company, happy to be with Fanny. There was great attachment between the sisters; the ever-laughing Maria and the ever-serious Fanny.

Maria had a tremendous task in taking over the roles of Azucena in *Il Trovatore*, the Gypsy Queen in *The Bohemian Girl*, Lazarillo in *Maritana*, Leila in *Saturnella*, Anne in *Der Freischutz*, Donna Carmen in *The Rose of Castille*, Alice in *Robin Hood*, Lady Nancy in *Martha*, Lady Allcash in *Fra Diavolo*, Lucy Bertram in *Guy Mannering* and Lucy Lockit in *The Beggar's Opera*. And there were the afterpieces in which she acted sharing comedy honours with Oliver Summers, *The Loan of a Lover*, *Mr. and Mrs. White*, *The Swiss Cottage* and *Twas I* among them.

After Halifax came Preston and Shrewsbury, followed by a three-week season in Oxford beginning on August 19th at the Theatre Royal, the name given for the nonce to the Star Assembly Rooms. Oxford was to prove a memorable place in the future for Maria. It may have been on this visit that she first became acquainted with William Rowland, son of John Taylor, a prosperous brewer living in Paradise Street, St. Ebbs. Young Taylor might, indeed, have been present at *The Rose of Castille* concerning which the *Oxford Chronicle* stated that Maria's voice was soft and musical, her performance being distinguished by a piquancy that made her a general favourite." Leaving Oxford the Company returned to Norwich before going for two weeks to Ipswich where the tour ended on September 28th.

The two sisters were back in London with their mother in Ampthill Square. Maria had hoped for an engagement at one of the metropolitan theatres, and Dickens was using his influence on her behalf. He had already written to Webster at the Adelphi

on September 9th. In his letter he said: " I have a high opinion of the young lady and take a strong interest in herself and her family. It is likely enough that you know what she can do—how that she is accomplished and attractive, well used to the stage, sings prettily, and is favourably known to London audiences. If you should be undecided between two applicants of equal pretensions (counting this young lady as one), I should be heartily glad if you would turn the scale in my direction—as I am sure you would in any case." The Adelphi at that date was occupied with Dion Boucicault's drama, *The Colleen Bawn*, the long run of which was to reach nearly three hundred performances. There would appear to have been no place there for Maria at that time.

Fanny continued as Prima Donna. The next year she joined a new travelling organisation, that of Hamilton Braham, another son of John Braham, though, unlike his tenor brother, Augustus, he was a bass singer. With a repertoire of the approved and established operas he found no difficulty in booking a number of consecutive dates in the country towns. The Company opened in Swansea on February 3rd, 1862. Newport and Cardiff followed. To the list of her many familiar roles Fanny added the name parts in *Norma* (Bellini) and *Cinderella* (Rossini). But Fanny's health was beginning to suffer. She was not over-strong and the strain of the work was telling on her. In Cardiff she had something like a collapse. A local notice read: " Miss Ternan who always imparts so much pleasure by her intelligent acting and exact vocalisation was so unwell as to necessitate a change of bill on Wednesday." When the Company was at Worcester for a stay of three weeks, she was again unable to appear. The initial performance had to be postponed three nights until a Miss Dyer could reach the town and substitute for her. A fortnight later Fanny was back and Miss Dyer away.

Meanwhile Maria in London was accepting the odd engagements here and there; for example a week in February at the Standard, Shoreditch, playing her old part in Byron's *Fra Diavolo*. Mostly she was " Resting " from theatrical work. Dickens, who had been so moved by her performance in *The Frozen Deep* and whose belief in her talent never wavered, persisted in reminding the powers that she was " At Liberty." A new play, *The Golden Daggers*, by Charles Fechter and Edmund Yates, was scheduled for production at the Princess's, the theatre where Maria had romped in so many comedies. Again Dickens employed his pen in her interests. On April 3rd, 1862, he wrote to Yates expressing the wish that " Fechter would take among his young ladies Miss Maria Ternan," adding " Not because I have a great friendship for her and know her to be one of the best and bravest of little spirits and most virtuous of girls (for that would have nothing to do with it), but because I have acted with her, and believe her to have more aptitude in a minute than all the other people of her standing on the stage in a month. A lady besides, and pretty, and of a good figure, and always painstaking and perfect to the letter. Also (but this has never had a chance) a wonderful mimic." But Maria was not taken among the young ladies. *The Golden*

Daggers was a failure and Fechter's term at the Princess's ended the next month.

At Easter the Hamilton Braham Opera Co. was at Lynn. Here, on April 19th, Maria joined the outfit as contralto, although her voice was more strictly mezzo-soprano. Once more she and Fanny were together. Among the towns visited were Norwich, Yarmouth, Sheffield and Hull. The last performance of the tour was on June 28th, 1862, and this seems to be the last occasion when the sisters appeared in a professional theatrical company.

Neither Fanny nor Maria was as intent as formerly on continuing a dramatic or operatic career. Fanny's aspirations had faded. She no longer dreamed of herself as one of the world's great vocalists. At twenty-seven she realised she was not likely to compete with the supreme singers in the European Opera Houses. Her voice was being torn to pieces singing long leading roles nightly up and down the country. She no longer had a zest for life in the provinces as a second-rate Prima Donna. Writing was a greater interest with her, and was eventually to supplant the desire she had to excel as an operatic star.

Maria, good-humoured and carefree, enjoyed her success on the stage but when jobs were wanting, had found plenty of things to occupy her time. Her other talents called for attention. One of them was painting, an accomplishment that gained her critical approval from masters of the art itself. There was, however, a big reason for not seeking further employment in the theatre. That reason was the young man from Oxford. On June 3rd, 1863, Maria Susannah Ternan and William Rowland Taylor were married at St. Matthew's Chapel—just round the corner from the house in Ampthill Square.

To be continued

RECENT DICKENSIANA

Essays and Studies, New Series, Vol. XIII.
John Murray for The English Association.
Oliver Twist by Kathleen Tillotson, pp. 87-105.

" Dickens and Interior Monologue," Harry Stone.
Philological Quarterly, January, 1959.

Additions to the Dickens Collection at Princeton.
Princeton University Chronicle, Spring, 1959.

FOR THE GRAMOPHONE

An interesting addition to recorded versions of Dickens is now available in a Long Play record of character studies by Frank Pettingell in which he is heard as Micawber, Peggotty, Sykes, Fagin, Sairey Gamp, Gargery, and the Wellers. ARGO RG 157.

WHAT PLACE WAS THE MODEL FOR MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT'S "EDEN"? A LAST WORD ON THE "CAIRO LEGEND"

By Howard G. Baetzhold

THERE once was a legend, fully accepted by only a few but often mentioned as a possibility, that Charles Dickens, having come to the United States in 1842, later castigated its faults in *American Notes* (1842) and *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843-44) because he had lost money in Darius Holbrook's grandiosely imagined but thoroughly ill-fated Cairo City and Canal Company. Gerald G. Grubb's excellent article, "Dickens's Western Tour and the Cairo Legend" has effectively shown that story to be based purely on hearsay evidence.[1]

But there are yet two questions regarding Dickens's inspiration for Martin Chuzzlewit's "Eden" which should be answered in order to complete the matter of the "Cairo legend". One concerns Forster's statement that Dickens first conceived his idea "on board the canal boat . . . to Pittsburgh", and recorded the scene which suggested it on March 28th, 1842, ten days before seeing Cairo.[2] The other has to do with the validity of the somewhat surprising assertion by Missouri historians that Marion City, Missouri, provided Dickens with his model for "Eden".[3]

On the surface, the story of Marion City is enough like that of "Eden" to make it a logical contender. The dream of one William S. Muldrow, it was actually founded in 1835 on the Mississippi River about ten miles north-east of Palmyra, the Marion County seat. And Muldrow's projected development could well be described in terms of the huge plan for "Eden" in Zephaniah Scadder's office before which Martin Chuzzlewit and Mark Tapley stood entranced:

> A flourishing city . . . ! An architectural city! There were banks, churches, cathedrals, market-places, factories, hotels, stores, mansions, wharves; an exchange, a theatre, public

[1] *Studies in Philology*, XLVIII, 87-97.

The chief printed source of the legend, here quoted because of its pertinence to the discussion which follows, is Dr. John F. Snyder, "Charles Dickens in Illinois," *Illinois State Historical Journal*, III (October, 1910), 7-22. Dr. Snyder writes:

Cairo was the only other locality in Illinois visited by Mr. Dickens. To see Cairo was really the main object of his journey to America. In 1837 one Darius B. Holbrook, a shrewd Boston Yankee, organised the Cairo City and Canal Company, a scheme as audaciously illusive as John Law's Mississippi Bubble of 1817; and going to Europe he plastered the walls everywhere there with flaming lithographs of a grand city at the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers—in fact as mythical as the fabled Quivira of Coronado's search. In London was the banking house of John Wright & Company—the same that, in 1839, confidenced the Illinois Fund Commissioners . . . into depositing with them $1,000,000 of Illinois bonds, resulting in a loss to the state of half their value. Through John Wright & Co., Holbrook actually sold bonds of his Cairo company to the amount of $2,000,000. Among his numerous victims was Mr. Dickens, who, it is asserted, invested in those bonds a large part of his slender means.

A few years later, becoming, with other investors, suspicious of the flaunted magnificence of the American Cairo, Mr. Dickens concluded to satisfy himself by a personal inspection of it. He came, and thus described what he saw. [Snyder here quotes the description of Cairo from *American Notes* and then concludes:]

This crushing disappointment and shocking dissipation of his cherished dreams of golden profits accounts for Mr. Dickens's malignant defamation of everything he saw west of Louisville, and explains the venom in his satirical novel that followed, entitled *Martin Chuzzlewit*, in which he wreaks his vengeance upon the United States generally, and upon Cairo particularly under the pseudonym of "Eden." (Pp. 20-22.)

[2] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, Seventh Edition (London, Chapman and Hall, 1872), I, 343.

[3] See notes 7, 8, 9.

buildings of all kinds, down to the office of the Eden Stinger, a daily journal; all faithfully depicted in the view before them.[1] Marion City was a greater success than "Eden," for settlers flocked to the site. But the first of a number of disastrous floods occurred in 1836, and the town's history may be summed up by Mark Twain's comment in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) where he compared its decline with the progress of many other Mississippi River communities. "Marion City has gone backward in a most unaccountable way," Twain said. "This metropolis promised so well that the projectors tacked 'city' to its name in the very beginning, with full confidence; but it was bad prophecy. When I first saw Marion City, thirty-five years ago, it contained one street, and nearly or quite six houses. It contains but one house now, and this one, in a state of ruin, is getting ready to follow the former five into the river."[2]

Some Dickensians have accepted the allegation that Dickens used the Marion City story.[3] But, despite numerous similarities, an examination of Missouri and Marion County histories reveals that Marion City's claim to the paternity of "Eden," like the Cairo City and Canal Company's claim to the paternity of Dickens's antagonism toward America, has arisen purely as a bit of undocumented local tradition.

The exact source of this tradition is probably undiscoverable. The earliest reference found in the records of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis is an 1884 account of the founding of Marion City, which asserts simply: "When Charles Dickens visited this country a few years afterward, the story of Marion City was told him, and it is said that in *Martin Chuzzlewit* the description of 'Eden' was written from the pictures given him of Mr. Muldrow's town."[4] Other histories are no more authoritative or specific. George A. Mahan, in *A History of North-east Missouri* (1913), indicates that "Charles Dickens took occasion to draw one of Muldrow's great enterprises in *Martin Chuzzlewit*,"[5] and another author repeats substantially the words of the 1884 account, adding, with no explanation, "It has been supposed that Col. Muldrow was the original of his [Dickens's] Wilkins Micawber, but this was not so.[6] When one considers the lack of evidence (in both published and unpublished writings) that Dickens had

[1] *Martin Chuzzlewit* (New York, John W. Lovell [1880?]), Chapter XXI, p. 359. Because of the many editions of Dickens, chapter numbers as well as page numbers will be included in footnote references.

[2] *Life on the Mississippi*, Author's National Edition, p. 421. "Thirty-five years ago" would make the date 1847 or '48, but probably Twain was using round numbers, for in 1850, Marion City was one of the principle hog-markets in north-east Missouri. It had been hit by a heavy flood in 1844 and had recovered slightly, but in 1851 another flood all but ended its career. It was presumably at this time that the "nearly six houses" were left. For records of Marion City and the activities of William S. Muldrow, see the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, April 5th, May 7th, 21st, 26th and July 12th, 1836; J. Greene MacKenzie, "Marion City, Great Metropolis of the West," in "Missouri History not Found in Textbooks," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXI (1926-27), 138-141, reprinted from the Quincy (Ill.) Herald, June 14th, 1926; Minnie M. Brashear, *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934), pp. 66-73; and references listed in notes 7, 8, 9.

[3] Robert G. Fitch, "The Last of Eden," *The Dickensian*, V (1909), 207-208, 228, which tells of the last log cabins being washed away from the site of Marion City; Anon., "Martin Chuzzlewit's Eden Now a Garden Spot," *Ibid.*, XVI (1920), 29; and Edgar White, "The City of Eden in *Martin Chuzzlewit*," *Ibid.*, XVIII (1922), 96-97, reprinted "From an American Paper, 14 February, 1922."

[4] *The History of Marion County, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1884), p. 244.

[5] I, 457.

[6] "Notes." *Missouri Historical Review*, VIII (1913-14), 236n. See also Frank H. Sosey, *Ibid.* XXIII (1928-29), 361-371; *Missouri: A Guide to the "Show Me" State*, compiled by the Writers Program, W.P.A. (New York, Duell, Sloane & Pierce), p. 44

ever visited, or had even heard about, Marion City[1] and the absence of documentation of the remarks quoted, the legendary nature of the Missouri story is plainly established.

But what about Cairo's claim and Forster's assertion that the sights from the canal boat on the trip from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh " suggested the settlement of Eden in *Martin Chuzzlewit* ? "[2] Dickensians generally have accepted Cairo as the model for " Eden."[3] A re-examination of the evidence is necessary, however, because of an apparent contradiction. In marshalling proof against the claim that Dickens's loss of money invested in Cairo caused him to " wreak vengeance on the United States generally and upon Cairo particularly under the pseudonym of Eden,"[4] both Mr. Grubb and J. W. T. Ley (in his edition of Forster's *Life of Dickens*, 1928) cite as a major piece of evidence, Forster's comment that the idea for " Eden " had been conceived *after* Dickens left England and *before* he saw Cairo.[5] On the next page of his article, however, Mr. Grubb seems to accept Cairo as the model for " Eden." He proves that the idea of a visit to America had long been in Dickens's mind—as early as 1836 or 1837—and quotes from a letter of July, 1839, showing Dickens's eagerness to go " to Ireland or America, and to write from hence a series of papers descriptive of the places and people . . . introducing local tales, traditions, and legends . . . "[6] That comment, Grubb correctly points out, is " essentially the plan of *American Notes* and of the American portions of *Martin Chuzzlewit* " as[7] they were to appear in 1842 and 1843-44. Then he continues: " What local ' place,' ' tale,' ' tradition,' or ' legend ' could have been introduced that would have had more interest for Englishmen than a true picture of the same Cairo that had been so hideously misrepresented to them a few years earlier."[8] [By Darius Holbrook in 1837.]

The explanation is, I think, fairly simple. If, as Forster says, the idea for " Eden " had been born ten days before Dickens saw Cairo—and there is no concrete evidence that Forster was mistaken—the sight of Cairo must have contributed substantially to its growth and development.

Let us compare the passage quoted by Forster as " the suggestion for Eden " with Dickens's accounts of Cairo, " Eden," and the approaches thereto. The March 28th letter from on board the canal boat in Pennsylvania reads in part:

We have passed, both in the mountains and elsewhere, a

1 Edgar Johnson, author of *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1952), the most complete biography of Dickens, has informed me that he can recall no mention of Marion City in the unpublished Dickens material which he has examined. Gerald Grubb cites lack of evidence of Dickens's personal interest in Cairo in unpublished letters in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. If those letters had mentioned Marion City instead as having any connection with " Eden." that fact would surely have been noted.

2 *Life of Dickens*, I, 343.

3 Among many others, Alex J. Philip, *A Dickens Dictionary* (London, 1928), p. 332, a volume which attempts to identify the originals of characters and places in Dickens writings; Edgar Johnson, *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph*, I, 410.

4 Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 22. See note 1.

5 *Studies in Philology*, XLVIII, 93; John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, ed. and annotated with an introduction by J. W. T. Ley (London, 1928), p. 256, note 222a. See also pp. 200, note 187 and 271, note 227 for other comments on the " Cairo legend."

6 Grubb, p. 94.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.* In a footnote at this point Grubb appropriately remarks, " If anyone should think that Dickens presented an unfaithful picture of the Cairo of 1842, let him look at the newspaper account and photographs of 1844 and 1856 given by [William G. Wilkins in his *Dickens in America* [London, 1911], pp. 210-214."

great number of new settlements, and detached log-houses. Their utterly forlorn and miserable appearance baffles all description. I have not seen six cabins out of six hundred, where the windows have been whole. Old hats, old clothes, old boards, old fragments of blanket and paper are stuffed into the broken glass; and their air is misery and desolation. It pains the eye to see the stumps of great trees thickly strewn in every field of wheat; and never to lose the eternal swamp and dull morass, with hundreds of rotten trunks, of elm and pine and sycamore and logwood, steeped in its unwholesome water; where the frogs so croak at night that after dark there is an incessant sound as if millions of phantom teams, with bells, were travelling through the upper air, at an enormous distance off. It is quite an oppressive circumstance, too, to *come* upon great tracks, where settlers have been burning down the trees; and where their wounded bodies lie about, like those of murdered creatures; while here and there some charred and blackened giant rears two bare arms aloft, and seems to curse his enemies . . .[1]

Desolate as that scene was, Dickens found Cairo and its surroundings even more depressing. His approach to Cairo and that of Martin Chuzzlewit and Mark Tapley to "Eden" bear a remarkable resemblance, even in the account of the ships' passengers:[2]

American Notes

There was a magnetism of dulness in them which would have beaten down the most facetious companion that the earth ever knew. A jest would have been a crime and a smile would have faded into a grinning horror. Such deadly leaden people; such systematic plodding weary insupportable heaviness; such a mass of animated indigestion! n respect of all that was genial, jovial, frank, social, or hearty; never, sure, was brought together elsewhere since the world began.

Nor was the scenery, as we approached the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, at all inspiriting in its influence. The trees were stunted in their growth; the banks were low and flat; the settlements and log cabins fewer in number: their inhabitants more wan and wretched than any we had encountered yet. No songs of birds were in the air, no pleasant scents, no moving lights and

Martin Chuzzlewit

They had now but few people on board, and these few were as flat, as dull, and stagnant, as the vegetation that oppressed their eyes. No sound of cheerfulness or hope was heard; no pleasant talk beguiled the tardy time; no little group made common cause against the dull depression of the scene . . .

[The preceding and the following paragraph have been interchanged for purposes of comparison.]

On they toiled through great solitudes, where the trees upon the banks grew thick and close; and floated in the stream; and held up shrivelled arms from out the river's depths; and slid down from the margin of the land, half-growing, half-decaying in the miry water. On through the weary day and melancholy night; beneath the burning sun, and in the mist and vapour of the evening . . .

As they proceeded further on

[1] Forster I, 350. The same scene is described in Chapter X, *American Notes* (New York, John W. Lovell [1880 ?], p. 730) with some minor changes in vocabulary and construction. A significant change, however, is that from "*never* to lose the eternal swamp . . ." to "*seldom* to lose . . .", thus preparing the way in *American Notes* for a *more* dismal picture of Cairo.

[2] *American Notes*, Chapter XII, pp. 746-747; XIV, p. 761; *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Chapter XXIII, pp. 378, 380-81, 384.

shadows from swift passing clouds. Hour after hour, the changeless glare of the hot, unwinking sky, shone upon the same monotonous objects . . .

At length, upon the morning of the third day, we arrived at a spot so much more desolate than any we had yet beheld, that the forlornest places we had passed, were, in comparison with it, full of interest. At the junction of the two rivers, on ground so flat and low and marshy, that at certain seasons of the year it is inundated to the house-tops, lies a breeding-place of fever, ague, and death; *vaunted in England as a mine of Golden Hope, and speculated in, on the faith of monstrous representations, to many people's ruin.* [Italics mine.] A dismal swamp, on which the half-built houses rot away: cleared here and there for the space of a few yards; and teeming, then, with rank, unwholesome vegetation, in whose baleful shade, the wretched wanderers who are tempted hither, droop, and die, and lay their bones . . . a hotbed of disease, an ugly sepulchre, a grave uncheered by any gleam of promise: a place without one single quality, in earth or air or water, to commend it: such is this dismal Cairo. [Then Dickens describes the Mississippi River itself:]

An enormous ditch, sometimes two or three miles wide, running liquid mud, six miles an hour: its strong and frothy current choked and obstructed everywhere by huge logs and whole forest trees . . . now rolling past like monstrous bodies, their tangled roots showing like matted hair; now glancing singly by like giant leeches . . . The banks low, the trees dwarfish, the marshes swarming with frogs, the wretched cabins few and far apart, their inmates hollow-cheeked and pale, the weather very hot . . . mud and slime on everything; nothing pleasant in its aspect, but the harmless lightning which flickers every night upon the dark horizon. [And their track, and came more and more towards their journey's end, the monotonous desolation of the scene increased to that degree, that for any redeeming feature it presented to their eyes, they might have entered, in the body, on the grim domains of Giant Despair. A flat morass, bestrewn with fallen timber; a marsh on which the good growth of the earth seemed to have been wrecked and cast away, that from its decomposing ashes vile and ugly things might rise; where the very trees took the aspect of huge weeds, begotten of the slime from which they sprung, by the hot sun that burnt them up; where fatal maladies, seeking whom they might infect, came forth at night, in misty shapes, and creeping out upon the water, hunted them like spectres until day; where even the blessed sun, shining down on festering elements of corruption and disease, became a horror; this was the realm of Hope through which they moved.

At last they stopped. At Eden too. The waters of the Deluge might have left it but a week before, so choked with slime and matted growth was the hideous swamp which bore that name.

. . . There were a few log-houses visible among the dark trees—the best, a cow shed or a rude stable. But for the wharves, the market-place, the public buildings!
[The next day Martin looks over the land.]

Here and there, an effort had been made to clear the land, and something like a field had been marked out, where, among the stumps and ashes of burnt trees, a scanty crop of Indian corn was growing . . . Three or four meagre dogs, wasted and vexed with hunger; some long-legged pigs . . . some children, nearly naked, gazing at him from the huts, were all the living things he saw. A fetid vapor, hot and sickening as the breath of an oven, rose up from the earth, and hung on

of his return journey, after more comments upon the filthiness of the Mississippi, Dickens wrote:]

> In good time . . . we came again in sight of the detestable morass called Cairo; and stopping there to take in wood, lay alongside a barge, whose starting timbers scarcely held together. It was moored to the bank, and on its side was painted " Coffee House "; that being, I suppose, the floating paradise to which the people fly for shelter when they lose their houses for a month or two beneath the hideous waters of the Mississippi . . .

everything around; and as his footprints sunk into the marshy ground, a black ooze started forth to blot them out.

> Their own land was mere forest . . . The best [trees] were stunted, from the pressure and want of room; and high about the stems of all, grew long rank grass, dank weeds, and frowsy underwood . . . tangled all together in a heap; a jungle deep and dark, with neither earth nor water at its roots, but with putrid matter formed of the pulpy offal of the two, and of their own corruption.

The three passages have the swamp and " morass " aspect in common, and the brief reference to fallen timber and burnt stumps of trees in the Chuzzlewit passage is reminiscent of the lengthier comment in Forster's quotation. But Cairo and its environs were " much more desolate than any yet beheld," its inhabitants " more wan and wretched." Similarly, of all the places visited in *Chuzzlewit*, " Eden " was certainly the worst place imaginable. All in all, then, the passages quoted side by side are much more closely related to one another than to the " suggestion " passage. And though it is now certain that Dickens did not invest in the Cairo City and Canal Company, his familiarity with the project, and the deep impression made on him by the contrast between the dream Cairo advertised in England and the real Cairo seen in America, are attested to, not only by the remark italicised above, but also by his summary of the whole American experience. The Cairo scheme became to him a symbol of the American pride in " smart dealing," a practice which gilded over "many a swindle and gross breach of trust . . . " and which resulted in loss of faith abroad. As Dickens put it:

> . . . this smartness has done more in a few years to impair the public credit, and to cripple the public resources, than dull honesty, however rash, could have effected in a century . . . I recollect, on both occasions of our passing that ill-fated Cairo on the Mississippi, remarking on the bad effects such gross deceit must have when they exploded, in generating a want of confidence abroad, and discouraging foreign investment: but I was given to understand that this was a very smart scheme by which a deal of money had been made: and that its smartest feature was, that they forgot these things abroad, in a very short time, and speculated again, as freely as ever.[1]

Thus, even if Dickens's view from the canal boat in Pennsylvania provided the " germ " for " Eden," Cairo pointedly reminded him of Holbrook's venture five years earlier. That venture undoubtedly gave him the background for " The Eden Land Corporation," and the similarity of his descriptions of Cairo and " Eden," clearly shows that Cairo was the prototype. Marion

[1] *American Notes*, Chapter XVIII, p. 818.

City's claims to that dubious distinction must be relegated to the same limbo of local legend as the now exploded myth which attributed Dickens's censure of the United States to a pocketbook wounded by investment in the Cairo City and Canal Company.

NO THOROUGHFARE

By Gwen Major

A BOMBED site in Great Tower Street holds the memory of a remarkable old house, a site which will doubtless soon be covered by a new building. The story should therefore be recalled before this happens.

Often I had noticed this Queen Anne house before the War, admiring its dignified simplicity, thinking surely this is the locality of *No Thoroughfare*, and this the house occupied by Wilding & Co., Wine Merchants. For some reason I put off investigation until too late—the War came, the house went! Too late to investigate as it stood, not too late to recall.

34 Great Tower Street
Destroyed December, 29th, 1940

The site, 34 Great Tower Street, is east of No. 30, still standing. Both 32 and 34 and much further east of these, were destroyed in air raids.

On June 12th, 1945, in its "Hitler Passed This Way" feature the *Evening News* published a print of this very house, the remains after complete destruction by incendiaries on December 29th, 1940, and as it stood before—exactly as I remember it. The illustration of its former state must have been obtained from the publishers of *Unknown London* by W. G. Bell. The *Evening News* added notes on the history of the house.

Recently I was looking in this book of Bell's, written soon after the first World War, and found a delightful chapter on the house and its times, calling it "An Old City Merchant's House." Bell says:

"No. 34 Great Tower Street is an example of the type of mansion built after the Restoration . . . It lies back concealed,

with only an open gateway and a few names painted at the side to indicate its presence."

(The house faced east therefore sideways to Great Tower Street.)

" Pass into the courtyard, and you have a welcome surprise . . . The house is just such a one as must have been erected for a prosperous merchant—a roomy mansion, with spacious apartments and panels and carvings . . . "

Incidentally, the house was narrow from back to front, apparently the width of one room as in the case of the Master's House in the Temple. Looking on the site now one wonders at the apparent roominess thus described which, however, struck me also in the past. Bell continues:

" The house dates from about 1670 . . . Ogilby's Survey made within ten years after the Great Fire—Ogilby died in 1676—shows in plan the existing house and it is hemmed in exactly as it is to-day . . .

" A picturesque flight of steps gives entrance. The lessees, Messrs. Dent, Urwick and Yeatman " (now at 61 Mark Lane, E.C.3) " have the ground floor offices over their extensive cellarage. The firm are wine-merchants, who came here in 1821. It was a wine-house before then, and the atmosphere is redolent of pleasant vintages. The counting-house is the apartment on the right . . . I doubt if the room has been at all altered this past century and a half.

" Some early Georgian panelling has replaced the original wainscot, and the arrangement is entirely that of an old-time merchant's office . . . at the back . . . in close proximity to retiring rooms . . . over a glass of old Oporto, many a bargain in pipes and butts has been made these past two centuries . . .

" Mr. W. H. Urwick, the retired senior partner, not only lived with his parents at No. 34 Great Tower Street, but was born there, and when I talked with him shortly before his death in 1914, in his ninetieth year, he recalled many memories of bygone City life . . . Mr. Urwick told a story of a former partner, Mr. Dent, who died at the age of ninety-five a few years ago, and in early life touted with others for orders at the docks . . .

" . . . there is older material above. The merchant's dining-room and its ante-chamber are at the head of the staircase—with panelled walls brown with age . . . Great chimney breasts bring the fireplaces well out, and the mantelpieces are ornamented with bold carvings . . . A noble dining-room is this, wherein thirty guests might sit at table . . . so obviously designed for good cheer . . .

" The occupants are Messrs. Wilkinson and Gaviller, West India Merchants " (now at 14 Clifford Street, W.1) " a firm whose record goes back to the time when West India trade necessarily meant sugar, and sugar meant slaves. Though they came to Great Tower Street only in 1848, their house is a century earlier . . . "

Bell adds, little knowing:

" . . . there is a likelihood of No. 34 Great Tower Street

being preserved, unchanged and intact, for at least another century."

Now read the description which Dickens gives us in *No Thoroughfare* of the house occupied by Messrs. Wilding & Co., Wine Merchants:

"In a court-yard in the City of London, which was No Thoroughfare either for vehicles or foot-passengers; a court-yard diverging from a steep, a slippery and a winding street connecting Tower Street with the Middlesex shore of the Thames; stood the place of business of Wilding & Co., Wine Merchants. Probably as a jocose acknowledgment of the obstructive character of this main approach, the point nearest to its base at which one could take the river (if so inodorously minded) bore the appellation Break-Neck-Stairs. The court-yard itself had likewise been descriptively entitled in old time, Cripple Corner.

"Years before the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, people had left off taking boat at Break-Neck-Stairs, and watermen had ceased to ply there . . . at most times the only commerce of Break-Neck-Stairs arose out of the conveyance of casks and bottles, both full and empty, both to and from the cellars of Wilding & Co., Wine Merchants . . ."

Here I should break in to say there were no stairs of that name as far as I can trace in this vicinity, though some were so called in the Blackfriars area, while slimey, rickety steps are still a common feature of London's waterside. Nor was there a Cripple Corner though again, off Bishopgate, there was once a Cripple Court. But Harp Lane three doors to the west and Water Lane two doors to the east of No. 34 are steep, narrow footways and then—at the time of the story—far more so than now, when the level of Lower Thames Street had not yet been raised as later. The fanciful description could well have been fact. As to calling No. 34 "Cripple Corner," the house and courtyard had no name and Dickens had to refer to it in the story when he could not always have called it by the name of the firm. Here again as when he describes a place in some detail he takes care to give this one a name which could be misleading. He continues:

"Some two hundred and fifty yards on the right, up the opposite hill (approaching it from the low ground of Break-Neck-Stairs) was Cripple Corner."

Here I take him to be imagining himself in Lower Thames Street (where any one of the many riverside docks could have had the ominous steps to Wilding's wharf) and facing north, that is, up and towards Great Tower Street, "on the right" proceeding up Water Lane (the "opposite hill" meaning the parallel one to Harp Lane) thence to "Cripple Corner," two doors on his left on reaching Great Tower Street. That court-yard of No. 34 exactly described by him as "diverging from a steep, a slippery and a winding street," tends towards Water Lane and looks as if it might have had an entrance thereto but apparently did not. Dickens continues:

"There was a pump in Cripple Corner there was a tree in Cripple Corner. All Cripple Corner belonged to Wilding & Co.,

Wine Merchants. Their cellars burrowed under it, their mansion towered over it. It really had been a mansion in the days when merchants inhabited the City, and had a ceremonious shelter to the doorway without visible support, like a sounding board over a pulpit. It had also a number of long narrow strips of window, so disposed in its grave brick front as to render it symmetrically ugly. It had also, on its roof, a cupola with a bell in it . . . "

I do not remember a pump or a tree in the courtyard of 34. I might have forgotten them or they have been flowery additions of the author's imagination, though I do remember a pleasing aspect, of tubs of flowers I rather think. Nor was there a " shelter to the doorway without visible support," but this very well could have been so even in Dickens's day since such a feature was common to Anne and Georgian houses. By the " narrow strips of window " one sees how they struck him, feeling however that he lacked a sense of gracious architecture in this case. Note the attic windows in the illustration, making this, if narrow, a many-roomed house. I do not remember a cupola particularly. Such a finish was also a frequent feature of this type of house. The photo, exact as it is, hardly conveys the comfortable, warm tone of brick and old wood, nor the prosperous well-kept air the house had as I saw it. Dickens goes on:

" The vaults were very spacious, and very old. There had been a stone crypt down there, when bygones were not bygones; some said, of a Pagan temple. It was all one now. Let who would make what he liked of a crumpled pillar and a broken arch or so . . . "

Dickens speaks of " the thunderous rumbling in the streets above," these cellars and doubtless they extended beneath the streets and may now be blocked up. At the rear of the site some sort of cellar storage is still being used.

As to vaults and suggestions of a Pagan temple, All-Hallows Barking Church, but a good stone's throw away, has been found to cover, deep within its foundations, brickwork of London's first Roman invaders, then of Saxon and again Roman, with remains of a Roman villa and of a temple to be seen. Dickens may have been making a good guess, or heard talk of such possibilities.

No. 34 Great Tower Street *is* Cripple Corner to my mind; everything, though slightly " disguiged," seems to bear the stamp of its association.

I hate to think of what will " lie atop " of the memory. Can it be a Terrace Garden, or part of one ? I fear not ! Money, even to the City Fathers, has a more appealing ring than nostalgic memories.

CHANGES IN DICKENS FELLOWSHIP BRANCH SECRETARIES

Mr. W. G. Pierce succeeds Miss G. M. Rolling at Bath.
Miss M. Corney succeeds Mrs. Mackrell at Manchester.
Mr. W. D. Ferrins succeeds Mrs. Sleddon at Preston.
Mr. C. G. Vaughan succeeds Mr. Morton Webb at Eastbourne.
Miss G. Keyzer succeeds Mr. Herman Hannink at Zwolle.
Miss F. M. Morland succeeds Miss P. Brunt at Christchurch.
Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Harr succeeds Mrs. C. Sleight at Hull.

DICKENS AND *THE DEAD HEART*

By Carl R. Dolmetsch

ON the evening of November 10th, 1859, Benjamin Webster produced at his Adelphi Theatre in London *The Dead Heart*, a melodrama of the French Revolution by the young playwright, Watts Phillips, with a cast composed of several illustrious actors of that era: Webster himself portraying the hero. The first notices heaped praise upon the play's spectacular tableau of the fall of the Bastille and its "stunning dénouement" in which the hero substitutes himself at the guillotine for the condemned son of his former sweetheart.[1] Moreover, its strong appeal to Victorian sensibilities, evinced in a good box office, soon made it obvious that Phillips and Webster had created a smash hit.

Despite its commercial triumph, however, Phillips's melodrama deserves rescue from oblivion today only because of its curious connection with a salient literary event of that same month. Its significance lies not in its aesthetic merit, which is slight indeed, but in the fact that, when it opened at the old Adelphi, the current serial in Charles Dickens's new magazine, *All the Year Round*, was his historical romance about the French Revolution, *A Tale of Two Cities*, which began in the first number of the magazine (April 30th, 1859) and concluded three weeks after the premiere of *The Dead Heart*. The final instalments of *A Tale of Two Cities* revealed that both Dickens and Phillips had used, albeit in varying ways, the same plot ideas. The recognition of this on the part of critics and the public several weeks later precipitated a flurry of charges and counter-charges of plagiarism in the press. Neither author offered a public explanation of the alleged "coincidence" and, in the main, the three-week controversy that ensued was allowed to subside into the obscurer recesses of literary history without any thorough attempt to elucidate the real relationship between these two works.

With noteworthy exceptions, Dickens scholars have all but ignored this problem.[2] Nevertheless, two theories have been proposed at various times to explain the resemblances in the two works. The most elaborate examination of the evidence in the case has been made by Jack Lindsay, a recent "Freudian" biographer of Dickens, who asserts that both Dickens and Phillips were indebted for their plots to Bulwer-Lytton's *Zanoni* (1842), a novel that also contains an episode of substitution at the guillotine.[3] But a much older reference to this theory is made by S. J. Adair Fitzgerald in his *Dickens and the Drama*, 1910. It is, on the whole, an inviting and plausible explanation of a possible

[1] The London *Times* (November 11th, 1859, p. 7), called it "a drama of more weight and pretension to sustained interest than has been witnessed for a long time at any theatre." *The Dispatch, The Telegraph, et al.*, gave similar notices, a lone voice of dissent being *The Literary Gazette*.

[2] Forster's official *Life* and Edgar Johnson's *Charles Dickens, His Tragedy and Triumph* (1952), contain no mention of the matter. The most comprehensive study of the sources and analogues of Dickens's novel has been J. A. Falconer, "The Sources of *A Tale of Two Cities*," *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVI (January, 1921), pp. 1-10. Falconer considered the relation of *A Tale of Two Cities* to Mercier's *Tableau de Paris*, Carlyle's *French Revolution*, Collins's *The Frozen Deep* and Scott's *Rokeby* in addition to *The Dead Heart*. He held to a "common source" explanation of the similarities between Dickens's novel and *The Dead Heart* and concluded that the statement that Dickens knew Phillips' play "wants proof."

[3] Jack Lindsay, *Charles Dickens, a Biographical and Critical Study* (London, 1950), pp. 364-66.

source of these works, but it is quite inadequate to account for the many other elements common to *A Tale of Two Cities* and *The Dead Heart* but entirely absent from Lord Lytton's novel. That is, the element of self-sacrifice through substitution at the guillotine during the Reign of Terror is the only common denominator in all three works, whereas Dickens's tale and Phillips's melodrama share other characteristics not to be found in *Zanoni*. Hence, some further hypothesis is necessary to discover the actual relationship of *A Tale of Two Cities* and *The Dead Heart*.

An earlier explanation, less documented than Lindsay's, relies on Edgar Browne's conjecture that the two works resulted from an idea Phillips and Dickens both cadged from " some obscure *feuilleton* dealing with the central incident."[1] Una Pope-Hennessy, who tentatively accepts this in her biography of Dickens, quotes a letter to Browne from his father, " Phiz " (Dickens's illustrator, Hablôt K. Browne), to the effect that " a rather curious thing happened with this book. Watts Phillips, the dramatist, hit upon the very same identical plot; they had evidently both of them been to the same source in Paris for their story. Watts's play came out with great success, with stunning climax, at about the same time as Dickens's sixth number. The public saw that they were identically the same story so Dickens shut up at the ninth number instead of going on to the eighteenth as usual."[2]

" Phiz " apparently wrote this when advanced age had affected his memory, for not only was he completely wrong, as Dame Una herself acknowledges, in his figures on the usual numbers of Dickens's novels and the specific numbers of *A Tale af Two Cities*, but his recollection of the public reaction, as we shall see later, was also quite mistaken. Anyone who has read *A Tale of Two Cities* knows that it is a finished work of art, possessing a structural unity that would be impossible had it been abruptly broken off or hastily concluded. There is also abundant external evidence that Dickens had completed it at least several months before Phillips's play was produced. Browne's use of the qualifier, " evidently," here is important, since evidence of a Parisian source for either work is wholly lacking. In the light of these limitations, Browne's allegation must remain strictly a conjecture.

On the other hand, there exists reasonably good evidence that Dickens did, in fact, know *The Dead Heart* for some time before he began to write his novel. Such data have been presented in two accounts. The first was an article by John Coleman, proprietor of the " country rights " of Phillips's melodrama, in the November, 1889, *New Review* (London), purporting to tell " the truth " in the controversy which had broken out afresh, though much less violently, when Sir Henry Irving revived *The Dead Heart* in the 1880's. Whether out of respect for the continuing popularity of the novel (which by this time had become accepted as a classic of Victorian fiction) or from fear of the effects of controversy upon his own investment, Coleman glossed over " the truth " with a nod to the " common germ " theory, citing

[1] Edgar Browne, *Phiz and Dickens* (London, 1913), p. 223.
[2] Una Pope-Hennessy ,*Charles Dickens* (New York, 1946), pp. 443-44. See also the chapter, " A Tale of Two Cities,' in Frederic G. Kitton, *The Novels of Charles Dickens* (London, 1897).

precursors in Carlyle's *French Revolution*, Bulwer-Lytton and Alexandre Dumas (*père*), whose *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge* (1847) also had a climax involving substitution at the guillotine. A dramatic adaptation of the latter was played in London in 1853 with Benjamin Webster, Alfred Wigan, and Madame Céleste. The mere fact that previous works contained a similar episode seemed sufficient to convince Coleman that both writers were "appropriating a common form to legitimate uses."[1] This may be partly so, but Coleman provided no other evidence to establish the existence of a "common form."

The only other account that presents evidence of Dickens's knowledge of *The Dead Heart*, Emma Watts Phillips's full-length biography of her playwright brother, contains the most comprehensive review of the circumstances of the case to date. Miss Phillips subscribed to Coleman's theory of "coincidence," but her reluctance to accuse Dickens of plagiarism in the face of what she relates in her book makes it imperative that a fresh examination of the case be made in order to formulate a plausible interpretation of the actual connection between *The Dead Heart* and *A Tale of Two Cities*.[2]

II

Watts Phillips, born of *petit-bourgeois* Irish extraction in 1825, was stage struck at an early age. After a brief acting career during adolescence in Edinburgh, he turned to sketching, a lucrative field for clever young men of artistic talent in those early days of book illustrating, and became a pupil of the great caricaturist, George Cruikshank. Like another Victorian author, Thackeray, Phillips went to Paris where he embraced *la vie de Bohème*, rented a studio, took lessons and tried in vain to sell sketches. While there, however, he gained a wide knowledge of the French theatre and some first-hand experiences with revolution in the upheavals of 1848, all of which stood him in good stead when, in 1854-55, he returned to London and tried his hand at dramatic composition. In the winter of 1856-57 he sold his first three plays outright to Webster, the impresario, for three hundred pounds. Although he continued to write for the stage until 1872, *The Dead Heart* remained his sole success and he died in virtual poverty in 1874.

Webster's two-year delay in producing *The Dead Heart* is partly attributable to the failure of the other two plays purchased at the same time (*Joseph Chavigny* and *The Poor Strollers*), but he must also have been influenced by its obvious likeness to Dion Boucicault's *Genevieve, or The Reign of Terror* (an adaptation of Dumas's *Chevalier de Maison-Rouge*) which was quite successfully mounted at the Adelphi on June 20th, 1853. Since Webster had also played the rôle of Lorin, Dumas's hero who sacrifices himself to save "the other man," he may have feared public disapproval of a too-hasty repetition of this plot situation. In any case, when Dickens's novel appeared in the early numbers of *All The Year*

[1] John Coleman, "The Truth About *The Dead Heart* and *A Tale of Two Cities*," *New Review* (London), I (1889), pp. 542-51.
[2] E. Watts Phillips, *Watts Phillips: Artist and Playwright* (London, 1891), Chapter II.

Round, Phillips recognised his own story in it and wrote a castigating letter to Webster, correctly prophesying that " of course they will make a play of Dickens's new tale, ' The Two Cities,' and (if you have read it) you will see how the character of the man ' dug out ' of the Bastille will clash with the man in ' The Dead Heart,' written more than three years ago . . . And now, owing to a delay of years, Dickens puts into words what I had hoped long ago to see you put into action. The tone of the resurrection from the Bastille ought to have been fresh in my play, not in his story. It's very heartbreaking."[1] Thus goaded, Webster hastened to protect his investment by starting rehearsals of *The Dead Heart* in July, 1859.

As Phillips had foreseen, Mme. Céleste produced Tom Taylor's stage adaptation of *A Tale of Two Cities* at the Lyceum Theatre on January 18th, 1860, and it was this event (not the production of *The Dead Heart*, as " Phiz " suggested) that forced the resemblances of the two works on the attention of the critics and the public for the first time. There is interesting evidence of Dickens's stature among his contemporaries in the fact that the cry of plagiarism was raised only against Phillips. The London *Sun*, edited by Dickens's friend, Mark Lemon, launched the attack on Phillips by asserting, first, that his play had been " stolen from the French," and, then, that it was an imitation of Dickens's novel. Neither author took a public part in the ensuing controversy, the defence of Phillips being undertaken by Webster, who wrote the *Sun* on February 8th, 1860, that he felt " compelled, in the absence of the author, to publicly, by letter, vindicate him from the charge of adaptation, or translation, *vide* the *Morning Advertiser*, the *Sun*, etc., some ten days since. It is well known—and I can immediately prove it—that ' The Dead Heart ' was written and paid for years before ' The Tale of Two Cities,' or the periodical in which it appeared, was dreamed of." Webster then silenced Phillips's detractors once and for all by disclosing that the piece had been " seen by Dickens long ago," that when Phillips first sent the manuscript to the impresario, he " took it down to Brighton, and there read it to two or three friends, one of whom was the novelist."[2]

Webster did not specify the date of this reading of *The Dead Heart* in the presence of Dickens, but Dickens had spent a long week-end in Brighton with Wilkie Collins early in March, 1857, and it seems likely that Webster read him the manuscript of Phillips's play at that time.[3] To be sure, specific evidence of Webster's presence on that occasion is lacking, but Dickens and Webster had been intimately acquainted for several years before this and had previously shared seaside holidays in the company

[1] E. Watts Phillips, pp. 46-7.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.
[3] References to this trip have been found by Mrs. Madeline E. House, editor of the forthcoming "Pilgrim Edition" of Dickens's letters, in previously unpublished letters of Dickens to Miss Angela Burdett Coutts (March 5th, 1857), Henry Austin (March 6th, 1857) and others, (Letter to the author from Mrs. House, September 18th, 1956). There is also a reference in *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Walter Dexter, 1938, III, 838—hereafter cited as " Nonesuch *Letters* "—to a letter written by Dickens to Joseph Ellis, proprietor of the Bedford Hotel, Brighton, booking rooms. That letter (previously only *referred* to) is now known to be extant and will be published in the Pilgrim *Letters*.

of theatrical and literary friends.[1] Since the novelist apparently was not again in Brighton until November, 1858, one may assume that Webster and Dickens met during the 1857 trip. In his preface to *A Tale of Two Cities*, Dickens asserts that the idea for the novel first occurred to him in the summer of 1857 while he was acting in Wilkie Collins's play, *The Frozen Deep*, but his letters indicate that he did not actually begin composition on the novel until over a year later, finishing late in February, 1859.[2] In view of these circumstances, Dickens's failure to contradict or qualify publicly Webster's claims in the *Sun* makes it unreasonable not to accept Webster's as the correct version of what actually took place.

The last act is set in the Conciergerie during the Reign of Terror. Landry, now an influential member of Robespierre's regime, commands this prison, where the Abbé and Catherine's son await execution. He offers the Abbé a chance to fight his way to freedom and, in the ensuing duel, fatally wounds the cleric who, dying, hints darkly at a "secret" that could revive the ex-sculptor's "dead heart." At dawn, Landry observes Catherine keeping a death watch outside and, when she is brought to him, she begs clemency for her son, revealing the "secret"—that she had married the Count under duress only after abandoning all hope that Landry was alive in the Bastille. He forgives her and tries to undo his misguided act of vengeance, but since Robespierre is absent from Paris and there is not time to get a message from him to countermand the execution order, Landry has but one alternative. He answers the roll call for the boy, substitutes himself at the guillotine and, while Catherine and her rescued son look on in anguished horror, the scenery slides away to reveal the final tableau of Landry on the scaffold.

From this it will be clear that the two works resemble each other closely in structure and organisation; the sequence of incident and pattern of causation being practically the same in both. Dickens's novel is organised like a three-act play (*i.e.*, "like a French drama") with three major divisions (books), having lapses of time between each. The first book, like the opening scene of *The Dead Heart*, functions as an expository prologue, showing Dr. Manette's release from the Bastille after exactly eighteen years' imprisonment on a *lettre de cachet*. Like the early scenes of *The Dead Heart*, the first section of Dickens's tale reveals the state of affairs in France prior to the Revolution, contrasts the conditions of life of the aristocracy and the peasantry, and prepares the reader for the Revolutionary scenes and the climax incident. The only incidents in Book I, in fact, are the release of Manette and the trial of Darnay in England for espionage

[1] There are numerous published letters of Dickens to Webster that testify to their long friendship. In a letter from Boulogne to Mark Lemon in July, 1856, Dickens invites Lemon, then at Brighton, to join him and Webster, among others, at his cottage in Boulogne for a week's vacation starting July 10th, 1856 (Nonesuch *Letters*, II, 783).

[2] In his notebook for 1858-59, Dickens asks "How as to a story in two periods—with a lapse of time between, like a French drama?" For this and other letters and notebook entries bearing on and establishing the composition dates of *A Tale of Two Cities*, see Nonesuch *Letters*, III, 117, 234, 729, *et passim*.

[3] All references herein to *The Dead Heart* are to the acting text ed. by Walter H. Pollock (London 1889). The text of *A Tale of Two Cities* used herein was the Everyman edition (London, 1906) which contains Dickens's prefatory remarks.

which establishes the fact of his resemblance to Sydney Carton—a *sine qua non* for the dénouement.

Although the time that elapses between the first and second sections of each work is not absolutely equal, a portrayal of the storming of the Bastille closely modelled on Carlyle's *French Revolution* concludes the second division (Act II and Book II) of both works. The third book of Dickens's novel, like Act II of the melodrama, takes place in the winter of 1793-94, the interval between the second and third sections in both works being precisely five years. Finally, each book of *A Tale of Two Cities* concludes with a stirring episode calculated to intensify suspense like the spectacular "curtains" that end the first two acts of *The Dead Heart*.

Even more noteworthy than these structural parallels is the employment in both works of motifs which, for present purposes, may be designated "resurrection," "revenge," "renunciation," and "substitution." Granted that such motifs occur singly in a substantial body of Victorian literature, their combination and the strikingly analogous ways in which they are used in both Phillips's melodrama and *A Tale of Two Cities* can hardly be "coincidental." For example, both Landry and Manette are "recalled to life" (resurrected) after exactly eighteen years in their Bastille "graves." The phrase, "recalled to life," is both the title of the first book of *A Tale of Two Cities* and the password by which Mr. Lorry and Lucie Manette identify themselves to the Defarges. Dickens emphasised that Manette had been "buried alive," a phrase he once considered as a title for the novel itself.[1] The idea of a living death is represented in both works by amnesia, and when Landry (in *The Dead Heart*) is liberated in this condition, his friend Legrand remarks: "It's like opening a grave!" Later, Landry tells Catherine: "They plucked me from the tomb a living man, but—with a dead heart!" Both Landry and Dr. Manette regain memory when they hear the name of someone to whom they have been deeply attached; the mention of Catherine's name startles Landry out of his amnesia, and in the novel, Lucie's revelation of her name brings the first glimmer of recognition that signalises her father's "resurrection."

Furthermore, both Landry and Manette are obsessed by an overpowering desire for revenge upon malevolent aristocrats, although Manette's motives are perhaps less vividly dramatised in the novel than those of the fanatical Mme Defarge. Nonetheless, Manette desires revenge upon the whole St. Evrémonde clan at the outset of the story quite as strongly as Landry burns to wreak vengeance upon the entire St. Valéry family. Both men purge themselves of this motive too late; Manette had, through his concealed letter, already forged the chain of events which almost leads the innocent Darnay, his own son-in-law, to the scaffold, and Landry had already ordered the execution of Catherine's son before he discovers that she is herself an innocent victim of the aristocrats. Thus, the two portrayals of the Revolution are all but identical, both counterpointing a personal conflict upon larger, impersonal forces of class struggle in order to symbolise

[1] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, ed. J. W. T. Ley (New York, 1927), p. 729.

the way in which Revolutionary justice backfired by misdirection and excess and recoiled upon innocent and guilty alike.

Finally, there is analogous use in the two works of the renunciation and self-sacrifice themes. The principal difference here is that Dickens found it necessary to introduce an additional character to carry out these motifs. Hence, the presence in the novel of Sydney Carton, the wastrel lawyer, who has no counterpart in Phillips's play, but whose function it is to die for Darnay and save Lucie's happiness—a clever scheme by which Dickens could kill his hero and have him live happily too. Although Landry does not go to the scaffold to replace his successful rival in love, as Carton does, he does sacrifice himself for the son of his rival, thereby perpetuating that rival's success. Inasmuch as both Landry and Carton redeem wasted lives by this means, it might be observed that Phillips displayed the greater economy in that his hero performs the combined functions undertaken in *A Tale of Two Cities* by three characters—Carton, Darnay and Dr. Manette. Of course, it was not uncommon in Victorian literature for disappointed lovers to renounce their claims nobly, often with some flamboyant gesture of self-sacrifice, but the *specific* manner and moral tone with which the renunciation motif is carried out in Phillips's play and Dickens's novel are inescapably alike.

It follows, then, that an argument that *A Tale of Two Cities* was derived in some measure from *The Dead Heart* does not depend upon the "coincidence" of substitution episodes alone, but upon the accumulation of a whole series of marked resemblances. Hence, the argument for derivation (*i.e.*, that one was derived, at least in part, from the other) and the "common germ" theory concerning the substitution episodes are not mutually exclusive. Both Dickens and Phillips explicitly acknowledged indebtedness to Carlyle for their Revolutionary background; Dickens even went to the extent of borrowing Carlyle's imagery (*e.g.*, "the sea," the "whirlpool," etc.) in his description of the Bastille siege.[1] The corresponding scene in *The Dead Heart* is virtually a theatrical tableau of Carlyle's account. In the third volume of his history of the French Revolution (1837), Carlyle described briefly an actual occurrence during the Reign of Terror in which a Lieutenant-General Loiserolles, "a nobleman by birth and by nature," answers the roll call and substitutes himself in the tumbril for his young son, who is asleep at the time.[2] Considering the popularity of Carlyle's book, it is quite likely that this incident captivated mid-Victorian sensibilities so much that it served as a model for such scenes of substitution in the works of Dickens and Watts Phillips as well as in Bulwer-Lytton's *Zanoni* and other fictional and dramatic reconstructions of the French Revolution. If so,[3] there may be some validity in Coleman's suggestion that such substitution scenes became conventional devices in Victorian narratives of the French Revolution

[1] *Cf.* Dickens's correspondence with Carlyle at this period (Nonesuch *Letters*, III), the Preface to *A Tale of Two Cities*, and E. Watts Phillips, p. 44.

[2] Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, Centenary Edition (New York, 1896, 3 vols.), III, 282

[3] *Cf.*, for example, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Zanoni*, Crowell Library (New York, 1893) and Alexandre Dumas and Auguste Maquet, *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge* (drame en cinq actes) in *Théâtre Contemporain Illustré*, Vol. 1, No. 49 (Paris, *c.* 1850). Boucicault's *Genevieve, or The Reign of Terror* was a translation and adaptation of this play which was itself an adaptation of Dumas's novel.

for accommodating the immense sacrifice of human life in that upheaval to the popular imagination of England.[1]

The consensus of Dickens scholars and critics is that *A Tale of Two Cities* is the least typical of Dickens's novels and, generally speaking, those who admire it most are less enthusiastic about Dickens's other works. Even John Forster went so far as to call it "an experiment," not wholly successful.[2] The only other novel of Dickens that it resembles to any extent is *Barnaby Rudge*, which is also an historical romance but with a heavy infusion of the picaresque. Except for brief episodes involving the Crunchers and Miss Pross, *A Tale of Two Cities* is lacking in characteristic Dickensian humour, but even more atypical is its departure from Dickens's customary fictional technique of relying upon character rather than incident. Dickens wrote to Forster on August 25th, 1859, that he had set himself "the little task of making a picturesque story, rising in every chapter, with characters true to nature, but whom the story should express more than they should express themselves by dialogue. I mean in other words, that I fancied a story of incident might be written . . . pounding the characters in their own mortar, and beating their interests out of them."[3] This tacit acknowledgement that *A Tale of Two Cities* is less like a novel than like a play should have been a clue that sent Dickensians in search of the evidence which has been readily available for nearly a century. That evidence exists, of course, not alone in the internal data—the numerous parallels in the two works—but also in the almost irrefutable indications that, for more than a year before he began composition of *A Tale of Two Cities*, Dickens knew the plot of *The Dead Heart*.

Does this mean that credit has accrued to Dickens that should have belonged to Phillips or that Dickens was in any sense a plagiarist? It does not. Like most good novelists, Dickens was constantly on the lookout for materials and ideas that he could use in fiction. Analogues of plot situations and motifs and originals of characters in his other novels are numerous. Moreover, *A Tale of Two Cities* is parallel to *The Dead Heart* in many startling ways, but it is very far from being a copy of it. Dickens obviously went to great pains to reshape the basic ingredients into a fairly original narrative. The stamp of his style is unquestionably upon the novel and some of its most commendable passages are the obvious products of resourceful invention. What Dickens achieved in the way of dramatic and emotional richness in *A Tale of Two Cities*, it must be admitted in all fairness, was vastly superior to the creaky melodramatic effects that characterise *The Dead Heart*.

Nonetheless, it seems only just to conclude that when Dickens heard Webster read the manuscript of *The Dead Heart* at Brighton in March, 1857, he was sufficiently impressed with the story to retain it in the recesses of his consciousness, to be called forth as "Inspiration" when, in the summer of the same year, his experiences in another play (Collins's *The Frozen Deep*) suggested to him the idea of writing an historical romance on dramatic lines—

[1] Coleman, p. 551.
[2] Forster (ed. Ley), p. 733.
[3] Forster (ed. Ley), p. 730.

an innovation, by the way, for which Dickens has not received sufficient credit. Although his conscious or unconscious memories of Webster's reading significantly shaped his narrative, the novelist then pounded and moulded his impressions of Phillips's melodrama into an original aesthetic entity all his own.

In the eyes of the many, the fact that Dickens's novel has gained acceptance as a classic of nineteenth century fiction while Phillips's play is now quite forgotten may seem an ample vindication of Dickens—a judgment that is certainly partial to the claims of genius and the winnowing of time. Even though such susceptibilities prevail, there is no longer any valid excuse for students of Dickens to ignore or pass lightly over the contributions of Watts Phillips to the creation of *A Tale of Two Cities*.

DICKENS FELLOWSHIP DIARY

Branch Secretaries are invited to contribute copies of their syllabus.

London Meetings appear on p. iii of cover.

Blackburn	Oct.	1st	President's Evening.
	,,	15th	"Among my Books." Mr. D. Entwistle.
	,,	17th	N.W. Regional Group Meeting at Preston.
	,,	29th	Whist Drive.
	Nov.	12th	*Dombey and Son*. Mrs. J. Haworth.
	,,	26th	Paper by Mr. L. G. Gollop.
	Dec.	10th	Christmas Party.
Broadstairs	Oct.	5th	*Dombey and Son*. Mr. H. W. Hazelwood.
	Nov.	9th	Annual Dinner.
	Dec.	7th	A.G.M. *A Tale of Two Cities*.
Christchurch	Sept.	5th	*Our Mutual Friend*. Bk. iv. Miss E. H. Bull.
	Oct.	3rd	Discussion Evening. Mr. A. E. Caddick.
	Nov.	7th	Dramatic Evening. Mr. B. F. Hayman.
	Dec.	5th	Christmas Party. Mrs. J. Allott.
Preston	Sept.	29th	President's Night.
	Oct.	13th	Visit by Blackpool Branch.
	,,	17th	N.W. Region Members' Meeting.
	,,	27th	Members' Night.
	Nov.	10th	Rev. R. Jobling: "Trial from *Pickwick*."
	,,	24th	J. Lightfoot: "Mid-century Growing Pains."
	Dec.	8th	Christmas Party.
Rochester	Sept.	17th	Speaker: Mr. A. D. W. Sanderson.
	Oct.	15th	President's Inauguration. The Dean.
	Nov.	12th	*Dombey and Son*. Mr. R. J. Marsh.
	Dec.	10th	Christmas Programme. Misses Hollings.
Sheffield	Sept.	7th	Conference Report. (Slides.) Mr. W. Keen.
	Oct.	5th	"Dickens's Change of Outlook." Mrs. A. E. Kaulfuss.
	Nov.	2nd	Speaker: Mr. N. St. John Stembridge.
	Dec.	7th	Christmas Party: "Old Fezziwig's."

FRIENDS OF *THE DICKENSIAN*

Mr. H. H. Zeiss. Anonymous.

Blackburn Branch, £1 11*s*. 6*d*. Haarlem Branch, 10*s*. Liverpool Branch, £2 2*s*.

OBITUARY

We regret to record the death of:

Mrs. Mabel Bannister and Mrs. Limb of Nottingham; Mr. George Bruce Hill of Chicago; Miss Cora E. Morse, Professor F. W. C. Hersey and Miss Caroline Sherrill of Boston; Mrs. E. Harvie and Mr. Norman Aitken of Wellington, N.Z.

See also foot of page 178

HAARLEM (Holland)

OUR branch comprises *two* reading-circles, one in Haarlem and the other one in The Hague. Each circle meets once in three weeks at the house of a member. The host in attendance is supposed to regale his guests with refreshments, which have a Dickensian flavour and he usually succeeds in emulating his predecessors by dint of unearthing some long-forgotten receipt of the Victorian period. The Hague members, however, have long since given up all hope of surpassing Dr. J. Wentelteef (Hon. Treasurer of the circle), who is the lucky owner of " What shall we have for Dinner ? Satisfactorily answered by numerous Bills of Fare," written by Lady Maria Clutterbuck (Mrs. Charles Dickens). Both circles read *Great Expectations* at the moment. The Chairman of the circle allots to each one present his or her part and the thus appointed readers do their utmost to *act* their rôles. The descriptive part is usually assigned to somebody, who has the best English pronunciation. You are not allowed to bring a Dutch translation with you. If a member breaks this rule, he is severely punished in this way: the Chairman invites him kindly to translate his part in English and much amusement is derived from the comparison between what Dickens wrote and what the wretched member makes of it. After each chapter the rôles are redistributed in order to ensure that everybody will have a turn. The circles meet each two months at a general meeting in Haarlem, at " Kraantje Lek " (The Leaking Tap), always on a Saturday at 3.30 p.m. On those occasions a paper is read, followed by a discussion and closed by an uproarious meal, which not seldom prolongs itself into the small hours of Sunday. The syllabus of these regional meetings for the season September, 1959, until the New Year reads as follows:

September 12th: Mr. J. H. Teylingen, chief-judge at Amsterdam: " The Drood Murder Case, as set forth by Mr. Richard M. Baker in the issues of ' Nineteenth-Century Fiction ' from 1948-1951. Its evidence and probability weighed against former theories."

October 3rd: Mr. R. S. Quakkernaat: " The History of the Dickens Fellowship in its broad outlines from 1902-1959."

October 24th: Mr. Godfried Bomans: " The Fluctuations in the Appreciations of Charles Dickens according to his Biographers from 1870 to 1959."

November 14th: Mrs. Janneke Galema-van Treslong: " The Topographical Aspect of Dickens's books: Kitton, Matz, Dexter, Gadd, Miller, Hill and some early explorers as Hughes, Rimmer and Fitzgerald (with lantern-slides)."

December 5th: Miss Maria Romme: " The alleged influence of *Ellen Lawless Ternan* on Dickens's later works."

December 27th: Christmas Dinner at " Kraantje Lek " under the chairmanship of Mr. Wardle (Mr. J. de Jong), who will be assisted by the members of the Zwolle Branch as Poor Relations. Mr. J. W. Schotman, President of the Zwolle Branch, will reveal the secret of the Fat Boy. " When Found— " All the lectures are given in Dutch. In Amsterdam and Bussum two new reading-circles are in course of formation.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1958.

1957.	LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£			
575	Life Membership Fund		574 17 6
833	Special Reserve		833 7 6
	Costume Department Fund—		
	Balance as at 31st December, 1957	163 3 2	
	Less: Excess of Expenditure over Income for year	6 7 10	
163			156 15 4
12	Unexpired Balance of Receipts for Charitable Purposes		11 7 3
	General Purposes Fund—		
	As at 31st December, 1957	357 19 11	
	Less: Payments less Sundry Income from Functions, Sale of Badges, &c., during year	31 1 0	
358			326 18 11
	Income and Expenditure Account—		
	Balance as at 31st December, 1957	1308 7 2	
	Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for year	114 11 7	
		1422 18 9	
1308	*Less*: Loss on *The Dickensian*	81 14 0	
			1341 4 9
17	Sundry Creditors		115 12 5
	Conference in Holland		
—	Receipts less Expenses		1001 14 5
£3266			£4361 18 1

1957.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	Life Membership Fund Investment, at cost—		
575	£549 16*s.* 1*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock		574 17 3
	(Market Value 31st December, 1958, £404 2*s.* 2*d.*)		
	Investment of Special Donation, at cost—		
105	£118 5*s.* 10*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock		105 0 0
	(Market Value, 31st December, 1958, £86 18*s.* 11*d.*)		
	Investment at cost		
550	£576 9*s.* 3*d.* British Gas 3½% Guaranteed Stock 1969/71		550 0 0
	(Market Value 31st December, 1958, £489 19*s.* 10*d.*)		
	Library Pictures and Furniture (including items exhibited in The Dickens House and Library)	17 16 0	
	Less Depreciation	1 16 0	
18			16 0 0
	The Tyrrell Collection of Photographic Negatives,		
75	at cost		75 0 0
	Costume Department—		
	Costumes at Nominal Value	100 0 0	
	Cash in Hands of Assistant Secretary as at 31st December, 1958	56 15 4	
163			156 15 4
	The Dickens House—		
504	Current Account		190 11 2
	The Dickensian—		
	Current Account	132 16 11	
	Less: Loss for year	81 14 0	
302			51 2 11
60	Stock of "Life of Dickens"		55 4 6
11	Stock of Badges in hand		6 18 3
45	Stock of Christmas Cards		54 8 7
20	Income Tax Recoverable		— — —
—	Amounts Paid in Advance, etc.		1 4 6
837	Balance at Bankers		
	Deposit Account	1250 0 0	
	Current Account	1274 15 7	
1	Cash in Hand	— — —	
			2524 15 7
£3266			£4361 18 1

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens Fellowship and certify the same to be in accordance therewith.
We have also verified the Investments.

3 York Street, Manchester 2.
16*th April*, 1959.

MORRIS, GREGORY & CO.,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ended 31st December, 1958.

1957.	Expenditure.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£ £			
65	To Rent (including Insurance, Lighting and Heating) and Rates	65 0 0	
758	,, Salaries	£791 13 4	
379	*Less* Contribution by Dickens House	395 16 8	
— 379		395 16 8	
36	,, Printing and Stationery	49 2 3	
114	,, General Expenses and Postages	119 9 2	
594		629 8 1	
246	*Less* Amount charged to *The Dickensian*	£259 5 11	
30	Amount charged to Costume Department ...	50 0 0	
— 276		309 5 11	
318			320 2 2
119	,, *The Dickensian* supplied to Headquarters' Members ...		113 3 6
13	,, *The Dickensian* supplied to Branch Secretaries		13 5 6
30	,, Meetings		49 19 6
13	,, Contributions to Charitable Purposes Account		11 0 4
2	,, Depreciation of Library Pictures and Furniture		1 16 0
77	Premium on Miss D. L. Minard's Deferred Annuity	76 19 0	
56	*Less* Contributed by Dickens House	51 6 0	
— 21			25 13 0
141	,, Balance being Excess of Income over Expenditure ...		114 11 7
£657			£649 11 7

1957.	Income.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£			
	By Subscriptions—		
493	Headquarters' Members	489 11 4	
67	Branches...	73 16 6	
12	,, Interest on Investment of Life Membership Fund, less tax	12 12 11	
			576 0 9
20	,, Refund of Income Tax		— — —
12	,, Interest on Investment, *less* Tax		11 12 2
12	,, Interest on Deposit Account (Gross)		20 0 1
20	,, Profit on Sales of "Life of Dickens"		28 13 0
21	,, Profit on Sales of Christmas Cards		13 5 7
£657			£649 11 7

Accounts for *The Dickensian* will appear in the next number.

THE DICKENS HOUSE

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1958.

1957.	LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	The Dickens Fellowship—		
504	Current Account		190 11 2
36	Sundry Creditors and Accrued Charges		156 13 5
103	Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift		102 19 9
10268	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund		10267 10 3
	Library Reserve—		
26	As at 31st December, 1957		26 9 1
	Balance—		
	As at 31st December, 1957	6809 16 10	
	Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for year to date	127 18 10	
6810			6937 15 8
£17747			£17681 19 4

1957.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	Freehold Property—		
5108	Nos. 48 and 49 Doughty Street, at cost ..	5108 5 2	
	Additions during year	67 8 0	
			5175 13 2
	Furniture and Fittings, at cost, less depreciation at		
	31st December, 1957	233 0 0	
	Additions during year	58 2 9	
		291 2 9	
	Less Depreciation for Year	14 2 9	
233			277 0 0
	Library and Museum, at cost—		
308	As at 31st December, 1957	.. ..	308 7 10
	Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift Investment—		
103	£188 5*s.* 9*d.* 2½% Consolidated Stock, at cost ..	.. ..	102 19 9
	(Market Value 31st December, 1958, £97 18*s.* 2*d.*)		
	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund Investments, at cost—		
	£696 2*s.* 4*d.* 2½% Consolidated Stock ..	500 0 0	
	£1792 14*s.* 3½% Commonwealth of Australia Stock 1965/69	2000 0 0	
	£530 8*s.* 3½% Conversion Stock	500 0 0	
	£1000 4½% Defence Bonds (Conversion Issue)	1000 0 0	
	£1128 15*s.* 5*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock ..	1000 0 0	
	£486 16*s* 4*d.* British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968/73	500 0 0	
	£527 13*s.* 4*d.* 3½% War Stock	500 0 0	
	£600 9*s.* 8*d.* British Gas 3% Guaranteed Stock 1990/95	500 0 0	
	£2363 11*s.* 4*d.* 3% Savings Bonds 1965/75 ..	2000 0 0	
	£820 7*s.* 7*d.* 3½% Treasury Stock 1977/80 ..	757 10 3	
	£1215 11*s.* 9*d.* British Transport 3% Gtd. Stock 1978/88	1000 0 0	
	(Market Value 31st December, 1958, £8334 7*s.* 1*d.*)	10257 10 3	
	Cash at Bank	10 0 0	
10268			10267 10 3
500	Deposit Account—Westminster Bank Ltd.		750 0 0
25	Payments in Advance		25 9 7
	Stock of Pictures, Post Cards, etc—		
177	Certified by Hon. Treasurer		323 16 9
137	*The Dickensian*—Current Account		50 7 8
888	Cash at Bank and in hand		400 14 4
£17747			£17681 19 4

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens House and certify it to be in accordance therewith. We have also verified the Investments.

3 York Street, Manchester 2.
16*th April*, 1959.

MORRIS, GREGORY & CO.,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

THE DICKENS HOUSE

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1958.

1957.	EXPENDITURE	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	To General Expenses—		
27	Stationery and Postages	20 10 8	
126	Petty Cash Sundry Expenses and Cleaning ...	144 15 2	
11	Telephone	11 11 9	
180	Caretaking Expenses	88 0 0	
379	Salaries	395 16 8	
723			660 14 3
10	,, Water Rates	9 9 10	
47	,, Insurance	46 4 2	
123	,, Lighting and Heating	213 19 2	
903		269 13 2	
15	*Less* Contributions from Dickens Fellowship	15 0 0	
888			254 13 2
148	,, Repairs to Building		264 0 2
16	,, Maintenance of Furniture and Fittings		12 15 11
12	,, Depreciation of Furniture and Fittings		14 2 9
51	,, Contribution to Miss D. L. Minard's Deferred Annuity ...		51 6 0
125	,, Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Balance Sheet...		127 18 10
£1240			£1385 11 1

1957.	INCOME	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	By Annual Subscriptions received during the year—		
25	Friends of Dickens House		19 4 0
304	,, Admission Fees		321 13 6
2	,, Donations		3 8 7
	,, Rents—		
300	No. 49 Doughty Street	300 0 0	
35	*The Dickensian*	35 0 0	
50	The Dickens Fellowship	50 0 0	
			385 0 0
	,, Interest (Gross)—		
5	Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift Investment	4 14 0	
357	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund Investments	371 10 6	
			376 4 6
25	,, Grant from London County Council		25 0 0
117	,, Profit on Sales		233 8 6
4	,, Refund of Income Tax		15 6
12	,, Interest on Deposit Account		20 16 6
4	,, Reproduction Fees		- - -
£1240			£1385 11 1